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A DAY AND NIGHT WITH "OLD DAVY": DAVID R. ATCHISON

BY WALTER B. STEVENS

"Old Davy?"

One of the little group awaiting mail distribution at the Gower post office said, with rising inflection:

"Old Davy?" And then the information was given that the home of David R. Atchison was "just out of town a ways."

The time was a December morning of 1882. The inquirer was a young reporter from St. Louis. He carried a big book, fresh from the press, telling that a Missourian had at one time filled the office of president of the United States for twenty-four hours. Did Gower know it? Gower knew it. The smile went around. The tradition lived that when Senator Atchison came home from Washington in 1849 his neighbors asked him about having been president of the United States for one day. "Old Davy," whom William F. Switzler, the historian, remembered as "a man of imposing presence, six feet and two inches high, straight as an arrow, florid complexion, weighing about 200 pounds," drew himself up and said:

"Gentlemen! That was the honestest administration this country ever had."

The postmaster of Gower volunteered to show the way. And as he went he told that "the Senator did have a fine home but it burned some time ago. He built a smaller one and he lives comfortably. In the fire he lost his library and papers and letters, which must have been very valuable for the biggest men in the country used to correspond with him and ask his advice. Some of his neighbors were sympathizing with him about the fire, and what did he say but—I wouldn't have cared so much if it hadn't been for the sausages. I'd just killed my hogs and had all of the sausages in the cellar."

"I tell you 'Old Davy' is a philosopher," the postmaster continued. "You'll find he will treat you hospitably. He's getting old and never leaves the house, but he reads the papers and is well informed on current events. The Civil war didn't

sour him, as might be supposed. He likes to talk. Got any family? No, not a child in the world. Been a bachelor all of his life. But he has his brother's children with him. There's his house."

The postmaster pointed over the cornfields and meadows to a sightly knoll covered with small timber in the midst of which was dimly outlined a farm house.

"It will save you distance if you go across lots. The road goes around."

Rossiter Johnson listed David R. Atchison among his *Notable Americans*, which was accepted biography two generations ago; he said of him:

In 1843 he was elected United States Senator and was reelected in 1849, retaining his seat until 1855. During the period he officiated frequently as president *pro tempore* of the Senate and by virtue of that position was President of the United States on March 4, 1849. Inauguration day falling on Sunday of that year, General Taylor was not sworn into office until March 5.

Through eighty years this tradition prevailed, until a debunking generation arrived. And now the *Dictionary of American Biography* says of David R. Atchison:

He was elected president *pro tempore* of the Senate sixteen times between August, 1846, and November, 1854, when he resigned. By virtue of this position it has been asserted that Atchison was President for one day, when the 4th of March, 1849, fell on Sunday, and Zachary Taylor did not take the oath of office until the day following. But this has been shown to be without foundation.

What was the situation in Washington that Sunday, March 4, 1849? What did the president of a day think? What did he do? The editor of the *Globe-Democrat*, Joseph B. McCullagh, thought well enough of the prospect in 1882 to send a reporter across Missouri to get the answers.

"Well sir," Senator Atchison began, "I'll tell you how that occurred. Polk's term expired on the 3rd of March, in 1849. The 4th of March, on which at noon the president usually takes his office, fell upon Sunday, and there was no inauguration until noon of Monday, the 5th, General Taylor preferring to wait rather than take the oath on Sunday. So there was an interregnum, you see. At that time the presiding officer of

the Senate was the one in natural succession if there was no president or vice-president. Some of them joked about my presidency and made application for cabinet places. I recollect Senator Mangum, of North Carolina, suggested that I make him secretary of state. As for myself, I went to bed. There had been two or three busy nights finishing up the work of the Senate, and I slept most of that Sunday."

Taking the matter in a more serious light, he said: "Correctly speaking there was no president of the United States that Sunday. As to the presidency of the Senate there has arisen some question about the time for which that officer is chosen. My own understanding is that it is for the session. That was the way I construed it then. Some difference of opinion was expressed by senators at the commencement of one session in my time and I held that a president *pro tempore* must be elected. Some new senators were to be sworn in. We chose Senator Cass, who was one of the oldest senators, and he presided, performing the duty. Afterwards he offered a motion that I be reelected president and it was carried unanimously. I went according to my belief of what was constitutional and legal. It would be better if that principle obtained in these latter days. I don't believe it is good policy to submit to wrong in high positions. Take the electoral commission. The Constitution provided a method of settling the presidential election. The power reposed in the House of Representatives and that body should have decided it. Tilden, doubtless, acted from patriotic motives and, perhaps, averted another war. But I don't believe I would have submitted to the wrong if I had been in his place."

But Senator Atchison's recollection of what occurred that Sunday in March, 1849, was of minor place in his talk that followed through that December day in 1882. Incidents in his many years of senatorial experience, impressions of his colleagues received as he sat in the presiding officer's chair session after session, came to mind. Intermingled were observations on national issues which were current then and later. Some prophetic convictions formed in the philosophy of his seventy-five years have bearing on these days of half a century after. Political history is repetitive.

"Well, there were Clay, Webster and Calhoun who ranked together as great men, and yet they were very different. When Clay spoke you thought, as was said of the Duke of Argyle, 'more of the man who said it than of the thing said.' He was full of rhetoric and *ad captandum* sayings. He looked like a monarch among men. But his speeches sounded better than they read. With Webster it was different. He was an orator and his speeches read as well as they sounded. Calhoun was like neither. In print, his speeches seemed very pointed, but it was irksome to the last degree to listen to him. He spoke so rapidly one could only follow him with great difficulty. His thoughts seemed to come like a millrace. There was no rhetoric, no ornament, but after he had said a thing he was done with it. Senator Simon Cameron was a kind-hearted, good man. I expect he did as many good deeds as any man in his state, Pennsylvania. Many were the young men who went through his printing office and were started in life by him, for his purse was always open to help them. I suppose that was the secret of his great power in his state, for nine-tenths of these young men he helped became newspaper men.

"Stephen A. Douglas impressed me as an able man but was ambitious. 'Honest John' Davis, as he was called, was an old fanatic. Old Truman Smith was 91, and he looked as if he had come over in the Mayflower. We had from Arkansas, Sevier and Ashley. Sevier was one of the old settlers and Ashley was a gentleman. Vice-President Dallas, when presiding in the Senate, would invariably announce Sevier as 'the Senator from Arkan-saw,' while Ashley was recognized with equal gravity as 'the Senator from Arkan-sas.'

"The last time I left home to go any distance was to make a trip to Kansas City to see Jefferson Davis when he was North. Jim Shields was there. We got to talking about ages. I found they had not counted all the years in their ages, as I knew them intimately in earlier days. I could account for it in Shield's case for he had married a second time. But I couldn't explain it for Davis. It's singular how old men lose track of the years and make themselves either much older or much younger than they really are."

Senator Atchison had known Jefferson Davis as a fellow student at Transylvania College in Kentucky. Of Davis in Congress, he said:

"Davis differed from all of the others. There was this to be said about him. You never heard anything foolish from his lips. He ranked as one of the ablest in debate.

"There were Silas Wright and Tom Benton; when they studied a subject their words would wear with any of them. Judge Breese of Illinois, who died recently, was an able speaker. I thought well of Choate. I recollect saying to my colleague once:

"'Benton, Choate is a man of ability.'

"'Yes,' Benton said, 'but he is one of those d—d psalm-singers.'"

Senator Atchison thought that if Webster had lived the war between the states might have been averted or postponed.

"Nobody North or South was satisfied with slavery. The negroes were not profitable except in the cotton-growing states. In the grain states they could not be worked to advantage. I wouldn't have murmured if Missouri, before the war, had set my negroes free. But the feeling was the North shouldn't be allowed to dictate. It was a question for each state to settle. But there seemed to be no way of getting along with the Abolitionists. Sumner, Chase and Hale were open and blatant, and those behind them were even worse. There were others in Congress who called themselves Free-Soilers. It was about 1848 or 1850 that the outlook began to be gloomy. Perhaps if Webster had lived he might have postponed the strife. He had the controlling influence with New England, although he was hampered by Abolition constituents. The Kansas and Nebraska bills came up; the question of admission of California as a free state; the Fugitive Slave law. Clay brought in a bill to cover all; it admitted California as a free state and had some provisions for recapture of slaves. He called his bill 'the Five Propositions.' But Clay had lost his grip. Great man as he was he couldn't control any longer. Nothing kept the Abolitionists in bounds. They spoke of the Constitution as 'a covenant with Hell and a league with the Devil.' It was along in this time

that the meanest thing I ever knew in politics occurred. Mr. Everett, a polished orator he was, presented before the Senate a petition signed by 3,000 clergymen. These white-cravated gentry undertook to dictate the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and took ground on the slavery question. Mr. Everett, my recollection is, presented the paper and said little. The Southern senators opposed the petition and spoke pretty freely about it. Mr. Everett made no reply. Then all New England came down on Everett. This did much to embitter and intensify the feeling between North and South."

Of another incident which did much to increase the bad feeling between North and South, the Senator told. He had personal concern in that affair. A Southern congressman assaulted Sumner of Massachusetts while that senator was in his seat, inflicting such wounds upon the head as were said to have caused permanent injury.

"I was interested considerably in Kansas troubles. My position was that the Territory should be left open for settlement, and that the people, when they came to form a state, should pass upon the question whether it should be free or slave. I did all I could to prevent bloodshed, although they laid it to me. Sumner, in speaking of Kansas matters, assailed me for my course, and Judge Butler, of South Carolina, replied in my defense. In the controversy, Senator Sumner made use of very harsh language regarding Butler, who was quite venerable. Brooks was a nephew of Butler, and serving in the House of Representatives. He took up his uncle's quarrel and whipped Sumner."

The twentieth century debunking of Atchison is not limited to the one-day presidency tradition. The up-to-date *Dictionary of American Biography* says:

"Although a Presbyterian, he indulged in intoxicants, in profanity, and incitements to violence against the free-state settlers in Kansas."

As to "incitements to violence" in Senator Atchison's relation to Kansas troubles, his own words uttered in the dignified calm of his retirement in 1882 are certainly interesting when compared with his biography written for this generation. He lived to know that his name was given to one

of Kansas' foremost cities and is carried daily across Kansas on the state's greatest railroad.

As to the intoxicants—why, one of the Senator's Gower neighbors said in 1882:

"Ask 'Old Davy' about that deer hunt over on Crooked river, away back in the forties. I'm told they got out of whiskey and the party played a game of cards to decide who should go horseback to the nearest source of supply, Richmond. 'Davy' lost and had to ride forty miles to get the jug replenished."

Upon the subject of profanity, an incident of the time when it was "Judge" Atchison, before it was "Senator" Atchison, was recalled in connection with the visit to Gower in 1882. General Doniphan was pleading a case before Judge Atchison. He said something that Judge Atchison felt overstepped the bounds of court decorum. The judge imposed a fine of one dollar, which looked larger in that period than now. Doniphan, who was something of a rival of Atchison at the bar of western Missouri, planned an immediate plot to get even. He waited until court adjournment and then, in the presence of several lawyers and others, walked up to Judge Atchison and said:

"D—n you! Here's your dollar, if you are so hard up."

Judge Atchison, ignoring the fact that the practice of the court required the payment of fines to the clerk, took the money. Inviting the group, who stood waiting to see and hear what might come next, to join him, he led the way to the tavern bar. As the glasses were shoved back, Atchison passed the dollar to the barkeeper, turned to Doniphan and said:

"Now d—n you! Go pay your fine where it belongs."

There were claims and lobbyists when Senator Atchison presided over the Senate, but not to compare with later times.

"There was one persistent fellow, I remember, who had a scheme for teaching the Shawnee Indians how to prepare hemp. He wanted an appropriation and was a long time trying to interest the Secretary of the Navy in the matter with the view of having the Indians supply the hemp for ships. Well, the Shawnees were down near Wyandotte then and I had occasion to know something about the scheme.

There was a woman from North Carolina who had a claim before one Congress after another for a pony taken in the War of 1812. Let me see, what was her name? Oh, yes! Amy Darden, Amy Darden and her pony."

The Senator sat in reverie a few moments and then his eyes kindled. "I may not live to see it but you probably will. This country is coming back to the doctrine of states' rights. It won't be many years until New England states will plant themselves on that, this same ground of states' rights. They'll be howling for it. The South and West, growing in strength, will impose upon New England just as those states have imposed on the other sections. States' rights was the principle which the founders of this Government had in mind when they gave little Rhode Island, scarcely larger than a plantation, the same representation in the Senate that they did New York with her population of a million of men. That was the spirit voiced in the Resolutions of '98 and '99 adopted in Virginia and Kentucky, and which led in political wisdom. That doctrine is the only political salvation for this Republic. When that is trampled out the principle of this Government is trampled out."

The spirit of prophecy passed and the calm, deliberate manner came back as he spoke of honesty and dishonesty in politics.

"When a party becomes dishonest it deserves to go down, and it does too. There was the defeat of Van Buren and the Democratic party. Swartwout, a collector, had stolen \$175,000 and there was a default in the Land Office. Those things defeated Van Buren. I was a candidate for the legislature then and was making speeches through Missouri. I recollect well how I would tell them the safety of the country lay in the success of the Democratic party. Just as I was in the midst of my hiflutin' some fellow in the edge of the crowd would shout:

"Well, Davy! Tell us about Swartwout."

"My feathers would fall, I tell you. The only defense I could make was that Van Buren didn't do the stealing. He had appointed the men that did it though, and was held accountable, just as he ought to have been. Twenty years

is long enough for any party to be in power. It seems to be incident in human nature for men in high places to become corrupt."

The winter afternoon faded into twilight and the talk went on by the blazing logs in the fireplace. The senator told how when his last term expired he thought twelve years in the American Senate ought to satisfy anyone. He said he made the proposition to Senator Benton that both of them give place to new men. Benton, at that time, was in the midst of his revolt from the Southern Democrats. Atchison had become the leader of the anti-Benton party in Missouri. Benton had tried to succeed himself at the expiration of his "Thirty Years in the Senate" and had been beaten by Geyer, a Whig. Benton was determined on getting Atchison's seat as soon as the latter's term ended. There was nothing for Atchison to do, he explained, as the leader of the Southern Democrats of Missouri, but to contest Benton's claims. Then ensued the bitter campaign; the like of which Missouri had never known. When the legislature met, Atchison led with 56 votes; Benton had 40, and Doniphan polled the Whig strength with 59. Ballot after ballot was taken. Atchison, through his representatives, offered compromise candidates, Sterling Price among them. The deadlock continued until Atchison's term was out and Missouri was left with a single senator. Finally Atchison withdrew in favor of James S. Green, and the Benton men, seeing the uselessness of prolonging the deadlock, yielded. The Senator went somewhat into explanation of "the Benton split" and told of Benton's amazing hold on his following.

"The Missouri legislature adopted what were known as the 'Jackson Resolutions.' They approved pretty much the ground that the Southern Democrats were standing upon. But Benton didn't approve of them and he took what he called his 'Appeal from the Legislature to the People.' He was an arrogant man and had been omnipotent in Missouri. He believed he would be sustained in whatever he asked of the people directly.

"Had he changed front? And why? It was said that he had the presidency in view. He voted for enfranchising

free negroes in Oregon, as I told you. He did other things to conciliate Northern sentiment. He relied on his birth and long service as a Southern Democrat to hold the South. I have heard it was his plan to have Van Buren nominated in 1844 and thus pave the way for his own nomination in 1848. At any rate he got so far out of line with the Democratic party in Missouri that he split off, carrying, as he thought, enough strength to insure success of his Appeal.

"Benton had a great following in Missouri, who believed in him implicitly. He made assertions that would have been laughed at coming from any other man. I recollect a speech at Savannah, in which he told the people a Pacific railroad would run through their place and would tunnel the mountains on its route to the Pacific, laying bare rivers of gold. At another place he told them he was going to have the Missouri river improved to the Yellowstone and thence merchandise would be transported by reindeer and dogs across the Rockies to the Columbia river. Up in Grundy county on one occasion I was making an anti-Benton speech in which I said that Benton had voted for conferring suffrage on Oregon negroes. A big blacksmith, who was a Benton man, promptly called out, 'I don't believe that.' I said to him, 'I have got the records to prove what I say, and when I get through with my speech I will go down to the hotel and show them to you.' When I had finished we went to the hotel, a crowd following. I got out the official report of the Congressional proceedings and showed where Benton had voted as I had stated. The blacksmith looked at it and said, 'How do I know but what you and Green have had this printed that way to injure Benton?' That will show you the wonderful hold Benton had on the people who believed in him."

No show of rancor entered into these memories. Senator Atchison did not let his recollection of Benton pass without good words for his rival.

"Benton had some qualities which were admirable. When the gathering took place on board the *Princeton* at Commodore Stockton's invitation, to witness the trial of the great gun, 'the Peacemaker' I think it was called, Benton was standing in a group with Gardner, Upshaw, McHenry and

others as the explosion occurred which killed five of them. I was standing near the stern with Hannegan and Jessup. We went forward. And there was Benton in the midst of the injured; his cloak and his wig blown into the Potomac, as I afterwards learned. He was holding a sailor's head in his arms. I said to him, 'Senator Benton are you wounded?' 'No, Atchison,' he replied, 'but get a doctor right away for these poor fellows.' After it was all over we took Benton home and found that he had felt the shock considerably. He was a man of nerve.

"When the contest was going on in Missouri, which ended in his defeat, Doniphan said to him one day at Jefferson City, 'Getting pretty warm, isn't it, Mr. Benton?' Benton replied, 'Well, not uncomfortably so, sir.' Doniphan continued, 'Atchison and Green are making things pretty lively, eh! Mr. Benton?' Benton turned on him and said, 'Doniphan, I am the best preserved man you ever saw. I haven't an unsound tooth in my head, and my brain is as clear as crystal. Why do I care what such muddle-brained fellows as Atchison and Green say about me?'"

Of the changes which he had seen Senator Atchison said:

"The politicians of today don't stand out from the people and have such followings as they did thirty-five years ago. Then Clay in Kentucky, Calhoun in South Carolina and Webster in Massachusetts were men whose words were law."

On some things he said the Senator laid the embargo, "Don't print that," and when in the morning came the time to leave, his parting words were:

"Now, I've only this to ask of you. There is an old Latin saying, '*De mortuis*'—you know the rest. I've spoken freely. Don't use what I've said harshly of the dead. As for the living, I'm responsible. If you come this way again, I'll be glad to see you."

Born August 11, 1807, David R. Atchison died January 26, 1886. Those sixteen times elected president of the United States Senate tell of the recognition he obtained in national life.

THE BATTLE OF CARTHAGE

BY WARD L. SCHRANTZ

A Missouri Civil war episode of some interest, given nation-wide publicity in its day but little attention since, due to the more important events which crowded closely on its heels, was the battle of Carthage, July 5, 1861, perhaps up to that time the heaviest engagement of the national conflict just starting.

At the beginning of July, in the first year of the war, it looked to many optimistic northern observers and to many pessimistic southern ones as if the Missouri part of the revolt against the Federal government might be nearing its end. The movement had been dealt a heavy blow on May 10 when Brigadier General Nathaniel Lyon captured the major part of the trained militia of the State at Camp Jackson in St. Louis; it had received a greater blow when General Lyon with some 2,000 men occupied Jefferson City, and on June 17 at Boonville, with 1,700 men in the field, routed with comparative ease some 1,300 of the hastily organized Missouri State Guard which Governor Claiborne F. Jackson had gathered there.

Quite evidently the Missouri State Guard, still in process of formation, was not yet ready to meet on even terms the Federal troops, regular and volunteer, which General Lyon had at his disposal. Major General Sterling Price, commander of the State Guard, hurried south, picking up military companies and groups of recruits as he went, leaving Brigadier General James S. Rains—in civil life a state senator living at Sarcoxie—in command of a state force concentrated at Lexington, with orders to move on Lamar and join Governor Jackson there. The governor himself, after the Boonville rout, retired southward with such of his force as remained intact, and on July 3, after some days' wait near Lamar, was joined by Rains.

The further retreat of the state guardsmen was not to be unopposed. When Lyon moved west against Jefferson City

and Boonville he had sent a column of troops under Brigadier General T. W. Sweeny to southwest Missouri by way of Rolla and Springfield to guard against any invasion from Arkansas and to prevent the Missouri State Guard from uniting with southern forces concentrating in that state near the Missouri border.

A portion of Sweeny's column, under Colonel Franz Sigel, pushing southwest from Springfield, reached Sarcoxie on June 29. At this point Sigel learned that Price was at Pool's Prairie south of Neosho and that Governor Jackson was at Lamar waiting for Rains. The Federal colonel decided to move southwest, strike and defeat Price, then turn north against Jackson and Rains; but when he arrived at Neosho he found that Price had gone on south to join Arkansas and Texas troops at Maysville in the northwest corner of Arkansas. On July 3 he decided to leave one company at Neosho to hold that town, and to move north the next day with the remainder. On the same day Rains had joined Jackson, and Lyon was moving south from Boonville with the purpose of uniting with Kansas troops at Osceola and marching to Springfield.

On July 4, Sigel marched to Carthage, leaving as a garrison for Neosho, Rifle Company B, Third Missouri Volunteer Infantry, 94 men, Captain Joseph Conrad commanding.

Sigel's camp that night was at James Spring at the east edge of Carthage, with outposts in the town and north of it. As these outposts were being established they came into contact with mounted southern detachments which had been sent south by Jackson to take possession of grain mills at Carthage. Jackson's force too had been moving this day and went into camp fifteen miles to the north. It numbered 4,000 armed men, with seven cannon and 2,000 unarmed men for whom weapons had not yet been available.

Colonel Sigel's force present consisted of nine companies of the Third Missouri Infantry, 550 men; seven companies of the Fifth Missouri Infantry, 400 men, and two batteries of artillery, 150 men—a total of 1,100 men and eight 6-pounder guns. He had no cavalry. His men were three-months volunteers but well trained for that period of the war,

having drilled nightly in St. Louis for some time before having been accepted as volunteers in early May. A few of the older soldiers had been in the Mexican war and more had seen service in the revolutionary troubles in Germany in 1848 and 1849. Colonel Sigel himself, a former professional soldier in the army of Baden, had been a leader in that unsuccessful revolt and had gained some personal fame by the skill with which he had conducted a retreat to the Swiss border though hard pressed by Prussian regulars.

In the early morning of July 5, Sigel's soldiers, well-breakfasted and with cooked food in their haversacks for their noonday meal, marched northwest through Carthage and thence north on the main road of the day, a mile west of where Highway 71 was to run seventy-five years later. It was known that a battle was imminent, and mounted southern scouts fell back before the column well out of range of the advance guard.

At the State Guard camp that morning all had been excitement. Some of the leaders had wanted to march south to the attack the evening before as soon as they learned that the Federals were at Carthage. Jackson had wisely restrained them, but at 4 a.m. the columns of the State Guard began to pour southward, the greater part, in the excitement, not waiting to prepare breakfast.

It was a somewhat mixed army, this State Guard. Governor Jackson, a civilian, was in command, issuing orders in his gubernatorial capacity as commander-in-chief. Organization of the troops was somewhat fragmentary and incomplete. Those armed carried whatever firearms they had been able to bring or their leaders could secure for them. Some had modern rifle-muskets taken from the government arsenal at Liberty or previously in the possession of the State; still more had old smoothbore muskets, many of them flintlocks; many men carried the heavy-barreled squirrel rifles of the day, while others were armed only with shot-guns. A few companies were fairly well-trained but most of them had had little opportunity for training. There were few uniforms, the common garb of officers and men being the civilian clothes of the day. A number of the officers and some of the older

men had participated in the Mexican war, and some others had gained a certain experience in active service during the Missouri-Kansas border troubles.

Leading the advance were portions of the Second and Eighth Divisions of the State Guard, Brigadier General Rains commanding. His infantry brigade of 1,200 men was commanded by Colonel Richard H. Weightman, West Point trained, captain of a St. Louis battery of artillery in the Mexican war, an able and determined soldier fated to die at Wilson's Creek within five weeks from this day. Under Weightman was Captain Hiram Bledsoe's battery of 40 men and three guns—two 6-pounders and one 12-pounder; Captain F. M. McKinney's infantry detachment, 16 men; Colonel John R. Graves' independent infantry regiment, 271 men; Third Infantry regiment, Colonel Edgar V. Hurst, 521 men; Lieutenant-Colonel W. S. O'Kane's battalion of infantry, 350 men.

Rain's cavalry, which he commanded in person, included 115 men under Colonel R. Y. L. Peyton, like Rains a state senator; 250 men under Colonel James McCown; 200 men, Fourth Cavalry, Lieutenant-Colonel Richard A. Vaughn; Captain Jo Shelby's rangers, 43 men, and a number of miscellaneous individuals.

The Third Division, Missouri State Guard, had present only 365 infantrymen, commanded by Brigadier General John B. Clark, veteran Missouri militia officer and since 1856 a member of the United States congress.

The Fourth Division, commanded by Brigadier General W. Y. Slack, consisted of 500 cavalrymen under Colonel B. A. Rives, and 700 infantrymen under Colonel John T. Hughes—foremost historian of Doniphan's campaign in Mexico—and Major J. C. Thornton.

The Sixth Division was commanded by Brigadier General M. M. Parsons, another state senator and a Mexican war veteran, and numbered 650 men—some infantry and some cavalry—and four brass 6-pounder guns. The horsemen were commanded by Colonel Benjamin C. Brown, president of the state senate, soon to die in battle at Wilson's Creek.

The 2,000 unarmed men followed in the rear.

About 8:30 a.m., a short distance north of Dry Fork and about eight miles north of Carthage, the advance guard of Sigel's force came into contact with Captain Jo Shelby's cavalry company, which had been thrown out to delay the Federal advance. A brisk skirmish followed. Colonel Sigel, seeing his advance guard checked, sent two companies of infantry and two pieces of artillery to support it; then, observing Jackson's main force deploying for battle on the crest of a hill in the rear, ordered the deployment of his own troops, holding out one company and one piece of artillery to guard his wagon train and protect his rear. The State Guard column hurried into positions assigned as fast as the organizations could come up, and then Shelby withdrew his company to the right flank.

The State Guard deployment was on high ground, the watershed between North Fork—Double Trouble Creek on Sigel's map—and Dry Fork toward whose timber-fringed banks the southern army looked across about two miles of undulating ground on which a lower and flatter hill, first held by Shelby, was now occupied by Union troops. Open fields and an occasional fence were between the two forces, and between Sigel and Dry Fork.

The left of the Union line was formed by the second battalion of the Third Missouri Infantry under Major Henry Bischoff, and next to it on its right were four pieces of artillery. In the center were two battalions of the Fifth Missouri Infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Charles E. Saloman and Lieutenant-Colonel Christian D. Wolff, and on its right three pieces of artillery under Captain Christian Essig. On the right was the third battalion of the Third Missouri, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Hassendeubel. Apparently there was no reserve, unless the company held back with the wagon train could be considered such.

The right of the State Guard line was formed by Rains' cavalry. Next was Weightman's brigade—Graves' infantry on the right, then Bledsoe's three guns, then O'Kane's infantry battalion. Hurst's regiment was at first out of the fight, having been halted at Weightman's order to eat breakfast, but as soon as it arrived it was thrown in on the right of

the brigade. Just left of Weightman's brigade was Slack's infantry, then the four guns of Parsons' division under Captain Guibor, then General Parsons' infantry, and finally General Clark's infantry on the extreme left of the dismounted line. The cavalry from Slack's and Parsons' divisions rode out on the left flank. There seems to have been no actual reserve, though Jackson formed his unarmed men in one body in the rear so as to give Sigel the impression that he had a strong one.

Sigel's artillery opened first, using round shot, spherical-case-shot and grape. Parsons' four brass 6-pounders quickly responded and Bledsoe's three guns quickly joined in. The Germans were excellent artillermen, Guibor was an aggressive gunner, and Bledsoe was to become one of the foremost artillermen of the Confederacy. The artillery fight therefore was lively and well sustained.

The sound of the guns carried for many miles over Southwest Missouri, and Captain Conrad, fortified in the Newton county courthouse at Neosho, knew his chief was engaged in battle. At one o'clock he received a message from Sigel authorizing him to retreat to Sarcoxie if necessary. It was indeed necessary, but not feasible. About ten minutes later, columns of Confederate horsemen dashed into Neosho from several directions, surrounded the courthouse and demanded Conrad's surrender. His position was hopeless. The Confederate forces from Arkansas, accompanied by the troops of General Price, were moving to Jackson's assistance. Conrad and his men became prisoners of war.

After the artillery battle north of Dry Fork had continued some time, Guibor's battery, becoming short of ammunition, ceased fire. Sigel, interpreting this as a favorable sign, prepared to advance, but learned one of his own batteries was running low and at the same time noted masses of southern cavalry riding down past his flanks. The enemy reserve—which he supposed armed—was also engaged in some disquieting movement, and he apparently wisely decided that the mission remaining to him was to extricate his command from its perilous position.

Causing part of his artillery to direct its fire on the encircling cavalry, the Union commander began to withdraw a portion of his troops at a time to a position behind Dry Fork. The State Guard infantry followed the movement, and the cavalry, despite casualties in men and horses, continued forward.

South of Dry Fork, Sigel placed one of his batteries—Captain Essig—in a concealed position from which it could command the ford. To the west of it one company of the Fifth Missouri was deployed and on the east two companies of the Third. Two companies of the Fifth were held in immediate support.

Weightman's men apparently walked into this situation before realizing their danger, sustained the fire at short range and then momentarily gave back. Bledsoe's battery was soon in action, pounding at the flashes of the Union guns, and the State Guard infantry again pushed against the stream, all along the line now, seeking a place to cross and engaging in a musketry fight with the Federals on the south bank. Meanwhile the State Guard cavalry from the east had gained Sigel's rear and formed behind Buck Branch, the next stream to the south, to oppose his further retirement. The Union commander decided it was time to move.

Three companies of infantry were formed facing south, south of his wagon train, with orders to break the enemy line behind Buck Branch. Two guns and detachments of infantry from the main body were to guard each side of the train and column from attack in flank, while two more guns and two companies of infantry, covered the retirement of the units from Dry Fork and protected the rear. In this formation the Unionists moved south, breaking through at Buck Branch in a sharp assault against which the state cavalrymen, many indifferently armed, could not stand.

The retreat on Carthage was continued in much the same manner, with variations to suit circumstances, the cannon on the flanks frequently going into action to repel the cavalry's attempts to close in. On the hills north of Spring river, close to Carthage, the rear guard made a stand long enough to allow the main body time to cross the stream and the valley.

South of the river Sigel turned a resolute face back to the crossings, but at the same time sent two guns to occupy the high ground east of the town to hold back the southern cavalrymen who were crossing Spring river in that section. At the same time, two companies were ordered to protect the west side of the town. Before these last two companies could get into position, the Union wagon train, its leading wagon at the first houses, was struck by a sudden dash of State Guard cavalrymen from the south. The Union train guards met the attack with a heavy musketry fire and the horsemen whirled back to the south again.

There had been some delay of the Federal columns at the river crossing, Sigel's cannon striking them as they reached the ford, but Graves' and Hurst's regiments were moved to the south to outflank this resistance, and Sigel fell back again into the town. With detachments holding his road of retreat to the east open, he felt justified in making a stand in the town with part of his force to give the remainder an opportunity to rest. For a time the rear guard held the west part of the town, then with both flanks threatened by encircling cavalry, it fell back before strong pressure of infantry, retiring reluctantly, firing from behind houses, walls and fences. The brunt of the fight in the town, so far as the State Guard was concerned, was carried on largely by General Slack's infantry. Weightman's troops also joined in the fight here, after a brief delay caused by uncertainty in the smoke as to whether the Union troops with whom they came into contact were in fact the Federals or were other parts of their own army.

To cover the withdrawal of the rear guard, Sigel had taken up a new position on a ridge southwest of James Spring, his camp ground of the night before, one gun north of the road leading toward Sarcoxie, two at the road and three south of it, the infantry along the same general line.

When the men in town received orders to retire, they came in a hurry, the state guardsmen close at their heels. As soon as they passed the new lines the Union artillery opened fire. A lively clash followed. The pursuing foot soldiers were checked, and soon Bledsoe's three cannon, and two guns

of Guibor's, came up and blazed angrily into action. Sigel had already sent two of his cannon to the east with part of his infantry to cover his retirement from this position, and as the infantry of Slack's and Parsons' divisions and of Weightman's brigade started forward, he retired his guns safely, and finally his foot soldiers, before the rush hit him.

The last position occupied by Sigel was astride the Sarcoxie road, a mile and a half or two miles farther on, and then, not being hard pressed, he moved east without further delay. Cavalry followed him until sunset and turned back, but Sigel, fully conscious of the danger from which he had escaped, marched on through the night to Sarcoxie, and thence, after a brief rest, to Mount Vernon.

That night the State Guard camped at Carthage, and the next day was joined by 6,000 men from the south under Generals Ben McCulloch and Sterling Price. The escape of the Federals had indeed been a narrow one.

Sigel's report gave his loss as 13 killed and 31 wounded, and to these should be added the 94 men captured at Neosho. The official government tabulation of Confederate losses compiled after the war gives the State Guard casualties as 30 killed, 125 wounded and 45 missing, but the State Guard reports on file—possibly not covering losses of all troops however—mention only 10 killed and 64 wounded, some of the latter mortally.

Although the Union forces had failed to accomplish their mission of preventing the southward movement of the State Guard—a task which was far too great for the force to which it was given—the successful retreat of Sigel, his skillful wriggling from the grasp of the greatly superior enemy, caused the action to be regarded in the north as almost a Union victory; indeed, it was so called not only by newspapers at the time, but by some school histories published years after the war.

As for the State Guard, it was now united with the troops of Texas and Arkansas, and had time to complete its organization and to plan for a campaign to regain the State. This was what had been sought, and the leaders rightly wrote

of victory in their reports, though there are said to have been unofficial recriminations because the Union force had been permitted to escape. In any event the State Guard morale was improved; the humiliation of Boonville had been counteracted, and the engagement constituted training which was to be of value in future and harder battles.

MISSOURI, 1804-1828: PEOPLING A FRONTIER STATE¹

BY HATTIE M. ANDERSON

Through Spanish efforts and the reports of officials, travelers, settlers, land speculators, and editors, Missouri, especially after 1804, had acquired the reputation of being a land of great and easily accessible natural resources, where any industrious man could hope to establish himself economically under the virtual promise that "to whomsoever asks, it shall be given." A man could also expect to set up his children in an environment of greater comfort and ease than any he had known. Under the influence of this great hope the population grew rapidly after 1814.

According to the not very accurate Spanish census, the population in 1796 was 3,582; by 1800 it had almost doubled, having reached 6,915. Accurate figures for the population of Missouri in 1804 cannot be secured, but from available statistics, Doctor Jonas Viles concludes that Missouri's population was approximately 10,000, of which about fifteen per cent were slaves.² Of the white population, the United States census report estimated that 43.2 per cent were French, and 56.8 per cent were Americans.³ Although in 1804 the majority were Americans, ideals and methods in government and politics were French. Thus real Americanization did not begin until after 1804.⁴

Following the transfer of Upper Louisiana in 1804, a steady stream of immigrants came into the country, so that

¹This article is based on Chapter III of the author's doctoral dissertation entitled, *A Study in Frontier Democracy: The Social and Economic Bases of the Rise of the Jackson Group in Missouri, 1815-1828*. (University of Missouri, 1935.)

²Viles, Jonas, "Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri Before 1804," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (July, 1911), pp. 189-213. Stoddard, Amos, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana*, pp. 225-226. Spain required an annual census, but Stoddard says it was often carelessly and inaccurately taken.

³*United States Census, 1830, Population*, Vol. I, p. 11.

⁴Viles, "Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri Before 1804," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (July, 1911), pp. 189-213.

by 1810 the population had increased to 19,783.⁵ After this there was a lull in migration. The estimated population in 1814 was 25,845.⁶ Then there began an influx of immigrants that lasted until after the depression which reached Missouri about the end of 1819.⁷ The official census figures of 1820 show 66,586 inhabitants, which indicates that the population had more than doubled since 1814. While the gain in population from 1810 to 1814 was 6,062, or a little better than an average gain of 1,500 per year, that from 1814 to 1820 was 40,741, or an average of slightly less than 6,800 per year. More important is the fact that the larger percentage of those who came after 1814 came in the years 1817, 1818, 1819, and of these, the larger number came in 1819.

The actual increase of population was 73,869, which indicates an average annual increase of over 7,300, although very few came during 1820, 1821, and 1822 because of the hard times. Beginning with the middle of 1822, migration once more set in,⁸ and the population increased to 140,455⁹ by 1830, and consequently more than doubled during this decade.

In 1810 the number of slaves had reached 2,875, or 14 per cent of the total population; by 1820 the slave population was 10,282, or 15 per cent of the total; while by 1830 there were 25,091 slaves, representing 17 per cent of the total population.¹⁰ These figures are indicative of the wealth and social class of the immigrants coming in during the twenties, and show also a strong demand for labor on a frontier where there was so much land that most of the free whites, save those who were stranded in the towns, insisted upon taking up land and setting up independently for themselves.

By 1815 there was a fringe of scattered settlements along the Mississippi from New Madrid north to St. Louis, with settlements extending back as far as sixty miles.¹¹ North of the Missouri river there were settlements at Portage des Sioux,

⁵United States Census, 1930, Population, Vol. I, p. 11.

⁶Houck, Louis, *History of Missouri*, Vol. III, p. 140.

⁷Missouri Gazette, July 14, 1819.

⁸St. Louis Enquirer, April 28, 1821; Missouri Republican, December 17, 1823.

⁹United States Census, 1930, Population, Vol. I, p. 11.

¹⁰United States Census, 1840.

¹¹Brackenridge, Henry M., *Views of Louisiana*, pp. 112-113.

St. Charles, Femme Osage, and at Boon's Lick. By 1830 the settlements reached north beyond Salt river and west to Jackson county. Thus, much of the most desirable area of the State, as it was then constituted, was occupied by land-hungry settlers filled with the hope of an easy and certain road to the possession of enough property to assure comfort in old age, and for the more ambitious, perhaps, enough property to attain to a life of affluence.

To have an understanding of the social basis of Jacksonian Democracy in Missouri in 1828, it is necessary to take into consideration her entire population, even that part of the inhabitants whose ancestors were in Missouri before that region was acquired by the United States. When the United States purchased Louisiana, and, as Channing says, thus became "the accomplice of the greatest highwayman of modern history,"¹² the region now known as Missouri was occupied by Indians and a few French and American settlers. The Indians were relatively few in number and could be forced back easily by the white man. Only in minor ways were the Indians to affect the citizens of Missouri, although these frontiersmen, like all others of their class, regarded their own interests as paramount over those of the Indians, and zealously took advantage of every opportunity to oust them from the State.¹³

Missouri's first white settlers were French Canadians who crossed the Mississippi to work in the lead mines. Ste. Genevieve was founded about 1735, or possibly earlier. After the cession of the region east of the Mississippi to England in

¹²Channing, Edward, *The Jeffersonian System*, p. 79.

¹³Peck, John Mason, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 114. Some of the Shawnee and Delaware Indians of Franklin county were reputed to be thrifty farmers, and brought the best cattle to the St. Louis market.

Missouri Republican, October 12, 1828: General Clark brought the Delawares, Shawnees, Kickapoos, Piankashaws, Weas, Peorias, and Senecas, with the Osages to make a treaty of peace. The editor commented on this as follows: "The causes of this: it commences with our *white hunters*, settlers on the frontier, who encroach upon the Indians nearest them, by killing their game; they, from a principle of self-preservation, upon the next, and thus it extends to the whole. Those more immediately in the vicinity of the whites, being more skilled, and better provided for war, although frequently inferior in numbers, succeed in driving their neighbors to the north." General Clark said the Indians wanted to bring the remnant of their tribes together in a land far away from the whites where they would turn to agriculture and stock-raising.

1763, many French crossed over from the settlements in the Illinois country. Others came following the passage of the Ordinance of 1787.¹⁴ Although Missouri was under Spanish rule after 1763, French customs prevailed. At the time of the American occupation in 1804, the chief districts of settlement were New Madrid and Cape Girardeau—both largely American—Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, and St. Charles. The town of Ste. Genevieve was to remain the most typically French for a longer time than any other settlement.¹⁵ Bradbury thought the French creoles indolent and lacking in ambition,¹⁶ but it seemed to the more sympathetic Brackenridge, that the French, to an unusual degree, had acquired the art of happy living—a thing most of their American suppliants have not yet achieved. They had settled in villages, and after the European custom, used a field and woodlot in common. They possessed slaves, and they grew corn, wheat, oats, barley, beans, pumpkins, watermelons, "mush" melons, and tobacco and cotton for their own use. Each villager was free to cut what wood he chose, and the herds of hogs, cattle, and horses grazed in the common pasture or made themselves nuisances on the streets of the villages. Most of these simple, soft-spoken, unenterprising, contented people lived in one-storied, plastered houses, long and narrow, with a porch at the front and back. In the rear of the house was a garden in which a variety of vegetables were grown. There was also a peach and apple orchard, and consequently, besides the delicious red wine made from the sweet grape, the French could have two more beverages—cider and peach brandy. Where mining was done, it was carried on in a primitive way, with each man free to dig where he chose.¹⁷

¹⁴Viles, "Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri Before 1804," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 5, No. 4. (July, 1911), pp. 189-213.

¹⁵Because of this, more general information is found concerning the French in Ste. Genevieve than in any other part of Missouri. A description of the people in Ste. Genevieve is given as representative of French ideals and customs in Missouri.

¹⁶Bradbury, John, *Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810 and 1811 in Early Western Travels*, edited by Reuben G. Thwaites, Vol. V, p. 259.

¹⁷Brackenridge, Henry M., *Recollections of Persons and Places in the West*, pp. 197-203; Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of America*, pp. 259-261.

As might be supposed, there were a few outstanding families of comparative wealth, such as the Chouteaus of St. Louis and the Vallés of Ste. Genevieve.¹⁸ The remainder possessed little material wealth, but beggary was nevertheless unknown, since the necessities of life were easily acquired and the people were frugal. Brackenridge suggested that because of the easy life they led, their manners and language had assumed a certain softness and mildness.¹⁹ According to this author, who had lived two years in Ste. Genevieve during his boyhood, the French were honest, generous, and punctual in all dealings. The women were skilled cooks, and their food showed a greater variety than the diet of meat, corn-bread and milk, customary among the pioneer Americans, for the French added soups, vegetables, salads, preserves, and pastry.²⁰ The women of the better class showed unusual refinement, great dignity, and were excellent housekeepers. These creole Frenchwomen were faithful and affectionate wives, whose position under the bonds of matrimony was not one of inferiority. For rich or poor the dress was simple. The men wore a coat with a hood attached (capote), shirt, linen trousers, and moccasins. There was an absence of class consciousness and crime was comparatively unknown.²¹ Save for Mass, Sunday was generally regarded as a day of amusement among these Roman Catholic French.²² Schools were few and most of the people were illiterate, although the better class acquired a knowledge of reading and writing, and most of them possessed genuine culture. All were cheerful, vivacious, given to drinking, and found innocent recreation in community dances,²³ and other social festivals.²⁴ Many gambled²⁵ and,

¹⁸Brackenridge, *Recollections*, pp. 200-202.

¹⁹Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, p. 131.

²⁰Brackenridge, *Recollections*, p. 21.

²¹Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, p. 134.

²²Schultz, Christian, *Travels on an Inland Voyage*, Vol. II, p. 62.

²³Darby, John F., *Personal Recollections of Many Prominent People Whom I Have Known*, p. 12. He said the people were the most happy and contented, and believed in enjoying life. There was a fiddle in every house, and a dance somewhere every night. No man locked his door, and they lived in security.

²⁴Primm, Wilson, "New Year's Day in the Olden Time of St. Louis," in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (January, 1900), pp. 12-22. On New Year's Eve young men went from house to house, singing "*la Guignolée*" and the kindly housewives gave them the ingredients for refreshments for a party. On the eve of the feast of Epiphany the girls met and

apparently, most of them were "thrice happy." In a French village there was no tavern, for it was not needed, the stranger always finding a welcome in the homes of these friendly, hospitable people.

To the more active Americans the contented French seemed lacking in public spirit, enterprise, ingenuity, and information.²⁶ They left matters of church and state to the priest²⁷ and the lieutenant-governor and his assistants.²⁸ Moreover, they were attached to the Spanish regime with its almost entire freedom from taxes and military service, its swift and generally true justice, its liberal land policy, and its uniform respect for French institutions, customs, and language. These French creoles, however, were not so happy under the American government, because of its disregard of their institutions, customs, language, and idiosyncrasies, its Protestantism and the consequent threat to Catholicism, its

used these gifts to prepare for the feast and dance. Another custom was to bake a four-bean cake, and the four girls getting these were the queens. These queens selected four kings who had to bear the expense of the next dance, but this was always light. Christmas was begun with the "*Reveillon*", and an ample breakfast. The remainder of the day was given to religious exercises, followed by revelry that night. Schultz (*Travels on an Inland Voyage*, Vol. II, p. 60) says dances might last from candlelight to noon the next day. A stranger, before his departure, was expected to give the ladies a ball that would cost him from \$100 to \$150. (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 62.)

²⁶Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage*, Vol. II, p. 61. While some danced, in an adjoining room men were spiritedly gambling, playing a game known as *Vingt-un*.

²⁷Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, pp. 131, 134-138, for a general summary of French characteristics.

²⁸Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage*, Vol. II, p. 63. Brackenridge was disappointed upon his return to Ste. Genevieve to find the good curate gone and his place taken by an "Irish priest, who took more pleasure in his dog and gun than in the celebration of the mass and the spiritual concerns of his flock." (*Recollections*, p. 203.)

²⁹Houck, Louis, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 76-83, 108, 238-239, 243. The lieutenant-governor was given entire control of Indians, relations with England, and responsibility for the economic, social, and political welfare of the people; was to watch over the boundaries, to prevent illicit entrance, and to maintain peace, good order, and obedience; to issue passports and to record the activities of the United States. Freedom of speech was forbidden.

Houck, in his *History of Missouri*, (Vol. III, p. 55), summarized the period as follows: The lieutenant-governor and his district commanders wielded almost despotic powers, both military and civil, and their families and friends occupied the most prominent social position in the settlements. These commandants were directly or indirectly interested in the fur trade—the only important industry. Political discussion was unknown. Trade and traffic and social life moved along well-defined channels.

tolerance of the turbulent Americans, its doubtful attitude on slavery, and its wrangling with the settlers over the possession of the seemingly unlimited land.²⁹

Even as late as 1829, the end of the period under discussion, visitors were impressed with the unquestionably greater refinement of the French. Among those of the better class, old and young, rich and poor, all appeared at parties like one big family, and such an assembly was said to be a "perfect school of virtue, politeness, good sense and good breeding." In contrast to this, the same traveler noted that among the English and Americans, the "men congregate together, in little squads, even in assemblies of both sexes, while the other sex are collected by themselves, in similar little groups."³⁰

The French appear to have had a modifying influence on the Americans, particularly in St. Louis. Accounts of travelers indicate that leaders in St. Louis were more cosmopolitan and more cultured than in other western towns.³¹ One visitor observed that the ladies of St. Louis were generally celebrated "for their taste and the splendor of their dress."³²

On the other hand, Brackenridge says that the Americans communicated to the French a spirit of enterprise and industry, while the French imparted some of their more gentle and amiable customs to the Americans. Very soon after 1804, the French of the better class sent their young men east for an education, "females" were instructed with more care, and the piano was heard in their homes for the first time. Brackenridge believed that by 1811 American manners and language were beginning to predominate.³³ In time those who failed to adjust themselves to American rule stood as a group apart, stagnant in a growing community.³⁴ Probably it is not too much to say that by the end of the third decade of American rule, most of the French looked on helplessly while they were being absorbed and overwhelmed by the more

²⁹ Shoemaker, Floyd C., *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*, pp. 9-36.

³⁰ Atwater, Caleb, *Remarks Made on a Tour to Prairie du Chien*, pp. 48-49.

³¹ Hall, Margaret Hunter, *The Aristocratic Journey*, p. 278; Ferrall, S. A., *A Ramble of Six Thousand Miles Through the United States of America*, p. 120.

³² Schults, *Travels on an Inland Voyage*, Vol. II, p. 41.

³³ Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, pp. 139-145.

³⁴ *St. Louis Enquirer*, April 20, 1822.

numerous, wrangling, covetous, liberty-loving, equality-demanding Americans.

Most of the well-to-do French, however, adjusted themselves and retained a fair share of leadership in the political, economic, and social life of the community. For example, Auguste Chouteau of St. Louis was appointed in 1804 as presiding justice; in 1807 he was both an associate justice of the Court of Common Pleas and chairman of a group of citizens to draft resolutions condemning the attack on the *Chesapeake* by the *Leopard*; in 1808 he was appointed colonel of a regiment of militia; in 1809 he was president of the board of trustees of St. Louis; in 1813 he was a member of the Committee of Safety for St. Louis; and he served as United States Commissioner in negotiating several treaties with the Indians. Chouteau and Brazeau owned the two mills in St. Louis. In 1807 Chouteau opened the first banking and brokerage house in St. Louis, and thus helped to introduce American business customs. In 1816 he was elected the first president of the first regularly organized banking house in St. Louis. Both Auguste Chouteau and his brother Pierre, had handsome homes in St. Louis. Lafayette was entertained in Chouteau's home in 1825 because it was the most splendidly furnished house in St. Louis.³⁵ John Darby retained pleasant memories of having many times danced there all night long.³⁶

The Chouteaus, however, were not the only Frenchmen who found a place in the new regime, as is revealed by the newspapers of St. Louis. Caleb Atwater, who visited St. Louis in June, 1829, said that formerly the French might have lacked energy and enterprise, but that certainly this was not true in 1829. In addition he said:³⁷

³⁵Darby, *Personal Recollections*, pp. 10-12. Chouteau's house occupied an entire square and was surrounded by a stone wall ten feet high and two feet thick. The two-story house had a plaza on three sides of it. Within, the house was elegantly finished with highly polished black walnut floors that shone like mirrors. Schultz said that the Chouteau houses lacked beauty and taste in 1807. (*Travels on an Inland Voyage*, Vol. II, p. 40.)

³⁶This is a summary taken from Darby, John F., *Personal Recollections*, pp. 10-12; Scharf, John Thos., *History of Saint Louis City and County*; Billon, Frederic L., *Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days from 1804 to 1821*, pp. 164-168; Beckwith, Paul E., *Creoles of St. Louis*, pp. 7-8.

³⁷Atwater, *Remarks Made on a Tour to Prairie du Chien*, p. 53.

The Chouteaus, the Menards, Vallis, &c. &c. of Missouri, are as active, as restless, as stirring and as enterprising as any people can be. They scale every mountain, swim every river, navigate every stream of water, they traverse every prairie, and explore every section of the country east of the Rocky mountains, in quest of furs, peltries, and skins. They build large store houses and occupy them—build vessels and sail in them to any part of the world. Their spirits are as stirring, their views are as extended, their aims as elevated, their flights as lofty, as any one could even desire.

It is doubtful, however, if the French had any part in the democratic uprising of 1828, for the democratic, independent, self-assertive Jackson men of 1828 were apparently American in origin.

Besides the French in Missouri, there was a group of German-Americans, largely from North Carolina, who had settled in Cape Girardeau county. They were ruddy, stout, industrious, capable, and fortunate, and so in a few years became well-to-do. Their buildings were constructed of stone and so were permanent, and made a rather vivid contrast with the log cabins of the ever-moving Anglo-American settlers and the small plastered huts in which the majority of the French lived. The Germans were a self-sustaining group, who lived in isolation and retained their own language.¹⁸ Apparently, these people had no effective part in the Jackson movement of 1828.

Far more pertinent to this study of the bases of the Jackson movement in Missouri than a knowledge of the original French inhabitants and the colony of Germans, is a knowledge of other immigrants, especially the Americans, who followed the French into Missouri. Jefferson expected the Louisiana Territory to be an outlet for surplus Americans for many decades, but owing to the fecundity of the Americans in a land of plenty, and the discontent of Europeans growing out of the Napoleonic wars, the industrial revolution, and British rule in Ireland, this country proved to be an immediate outlet,

¹⁸Flint, Timothy, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, pp. 232-238. Further, Flint said he counted forty-five dresses hanging in his sleeping room in one of these German houses, the cotton for which had been raised, woven, dyed, and made into clothing by these enterprising people. He thought the Germans must have some intuitive ability, a kind of sixth sense, which enabled them to single out the best arrangement for their farms.

directly or indirectly, for both the Atlantic states and Europe and was occupied much more rapidly than had been anticipated. Even before 1800, land-hungry Americans began crossing the Mississippi into Spanish Missouri because of the easy land terms. The purchase of the territory by the United States brought an increase in immigration, which gained some momentum in 1808. Many emigrants settled in St. Charles county, a region said to resemble Kentucky,³⁹ but the Ste. Genevieve district grew most rapidly during the decade,⁴⁰ due no doubt to an influx of immigrants to the mining region.

Brackenridge says that the addition to Missouri's population during the period was largely from Kentucky and North Carolina, though some families came from western Pennsylvania.⁴¹ Doubtless most of the immigrants came because of the opportunity to take up land, with the hope of getting it as a donation from the government, or at least of acquiring a title later at a minimum price. In the meantime, so long as they remained squatters, there were no rents, no taxes, or other political duties, and a promise of an easy living if one were content with simple fare.⁴² In fact, it appeared to Brackenridge that the freedom offered—freedom from the vexing duties and impositions of even the best of governments, from party spirit, and from the madness of ambition—was the principal incentive that impelled "the wandering Anglo-American to bury himself in the midst of the wilderness."⁴³

After 1810, immigration halted and people did not come in large numbers again for four or five years. Among the

³⁹Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, p. 109.

⁴⁰United States Census, 1930, Population, Vol. I, p. 11.

⁴¹Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, p. 113.

⁴²Brackenridge, in his *Recollections* (p. 192), gives an illustration of this: He spent one night in 1809 in a cabin eight miles out of New Madrid. This was the home of a man newly arrived from Connecticut, who had sold out there, and finding he did not have enough money to buy land in Ohio, had come to Missouri. With his wife and fourteen children, he had squatted on public land, hoping the government would make a donation of this or at least sell at the minimum price. In the meantime he was free from taxes and rent. They were a wholesome, simple, cleanly, reverent family. Even two years later, when the family had been stricken with autumnal or bilious fever, from which the mother and four children died, and the others were being cared for by kindly neighbors, the father could reverently say, "God's will be done."

⁴³Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, p. 118.

reasons for this were the War of 1812, the increased danger from Indian attacks due to the campaign of Tecumseh, the confusion over land titles, the earthquake of 1811, and the appearance of autumnal fevers.⁴⁴

Many of the Americans who came to Missouri before 1804, according to Houck, were of the turbulent sort, but a wholesome fear of the Spanish dungeons of Cuba and the mines of Mexico was calculated to quell their lawless dispositions, though they were more insubordinate than the French.⁴⁵ With the transfer of the territory to the United States the repressed spirit of these early settlers manifested itself.⁴⁶ Then, too, many adventurers and speculators emigrated to this new country after 1804, the reckless and unprincipled gathering along with the rest, and among them, especially in the mining region, were not a few depraved characters, who were fugitives from justice.⁴⁷ With these was the notorious duelist, John Smith T.,⁴⁸ who held a floating grant to cover new discoveries in the lead mining region, and whose show room at his plantation, "Shibboleth," near Potosi, was an "armory."⁴⁹ The peace and quiet of Spanish rule were replaced with much disorder, loud and angry discussion of politics, excessive gambling, drunkenness, profanity, abuse of constituted authority, the floating of fraudulent land titles, lawyers fomenting litigation, violence, duels, assaults with intent to kill, and murder.⁵⁰

⁴⁴Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, p. 110. Brackenridge says that the ravages of disease caused many to return to the East, and many who had planned to come to Missouri changed their minds.

⁴⁵Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. III, p. 55.

⁴⁶All writers of this period agree that this was an especially lawless period. See the works of Ashe, Schultz, Bradbury and Brackenridge previously cited.

⁴⁷Schoolcraft, Henry R., *Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Regions of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas*, p. 187. Schoolcraft says that most of those who discovered and worked the mines were of this type.

⁴⁸Darby, in his *Personal Recollections* (pp. 84-97), says that before Smith died he could boast of having killed thirteen men. Among these was Lionel Browne, the nephew of Aaron Burr, who fell in a duel fought on Bloody Island opposite St. Louis. See *St. Louis Enquirer*, September 25, 1819, for an account of the duel.

⁴⁹Brackenridge, *Recollections*, pp. 214-216. Brackenridge stopped at the home of Smith in 1809, when he was living in a double-faced cabin, set, Tennessee fashion, in a yard carefully swept to destroy mosquitoes and snakes. Smith forced on the unwilling Brackenridge a gun with which to protect himself.

⁵⁰Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. III, p. 55.

During this time, according to Brackenridge, almost any conduct was tolerated more readily than the refusal to defend one's rights and honor with arms.⁵¹ At Ste. Genevieve the men carried concealed daggers which might fall out as they danced.⁵² Court days exhibited a number of armed men carrying pistols under their coats, and nearly all had dirks peeping from their belts. Even the judges on the bench had their pistols and ataghans by their sides. Perhaps there was less bloodshed than one might expect, yet there was enough to give Brackenridge a painful feeling of insecurity. At Mine à Breton, he said he met "some of the rudest and most savage of the uncivilized portion of the civilized society."⁵³ Perpetual wrangles and many bloody quarrels took place about their *natural rights*, for the arm of the law was helpless in a country where men might dig wherever they pleased, if they could maintain their right by physical force. Pistols, dirks, and daggers were everywhere in evidence, and men were not slow to draw these. It was said that in St. Louis public opinion "was not strong enough to frown down conduct that was really disreputable and immoral, but could force a man to fight a duel in which the innocent might fall."⁵⁴ Hence, it is evident that Missouri was not without the flotsam and jetsam of a turbulent society of varied origin and rapid growth. Not only were the newcomers quarrelsome, but some were ignorant⁵⁵, superstitious,⁵⁶ and even vicious.

⁵¹Brackenridge, *Recollections*, p. 190.

⁵²Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage*, Vol. II, p. 62.

⁵³Brackenridge, *Recollections*, pp. 212-216.

⁵⁴Brackenridge, *Recollections*, p. 263. Brackenridge tells also of a pair of pistols, made by the celebrated Cranmer of Illinois, that sold for \$200, and of a rifle that sold for \$150.

⁵⁵Brackenridge, in his *Recollections* (p. 195), gives an extreme illustration of the ignorance that might be found among the settlers: He stopped at the cabin of an old man who had cut his way through the canebrakes of the Mississippi to his cabin, and who knew about Adams and Washington, but had never heard of Jefferson and Madison, for "they had never foun."

⁵⁶Bradbury, who was on his way down the Mississippi at the time of the New Madrid earthquake, tells of meeting an inhabitant of the region who explained the cause of the earthquake as follows: He had seen a comet a few months before which had two horns, over one of which the earth had rolled, and was now lodged between them. The shocks were caused by an attempt of the earth to surmount the other horn. If it did not succeed, destruction would follow. (Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of America, in Early Western Travels*, Vol. V, pp. 208-209.)

Nevertheless, the majority of Americans in Missouri, however much they were lacking in knowledge, were shrewd, intelligent, and far from illiterate. Brackenridge noted that practically every community managed to have a schoolmaster to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic. In this they differed from the majority of the unenterprising French creoles, many of whom did not know a letter of the alphabet.⁵⁷

Though the frontier was the refuge of many worthless persons, there were also many settlers of merit. Brackenridge said that he found many genteel French and American families in St. Louis.⁵⁸ Bradbury noticed that the three women serving his party with bread, milk, and preserved fruit in Boon's Lick one Sunday were neatly dressed in white gowns.⁵⁹ Schultz said the ladies of St. Louis were generally celebrated for their beauty, modesty, agreeable manners, and good taste in dress.⁶⁰ There were many estimable young men who believed in the future of Missouri and had come to grow up with the country. Among these may be mentioned Frederick Bates, who was to have an enviable record of almost continuous public service from 1807 until his death in 1825.⁶¹ Another exemplary citizen was Edward Hempstead, who, among other services, helped to interest the Presbyterian Church in extending its activities to Missouri as a missionary field, and who, as congressional delegate from Missouri, labored diligently to get the outlots in Missouri designated for a school fund.⁶² Two other outstanding men were Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, both of whom served as governor of the Territory.

⁵⁷Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, p. 117.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 124.

⁵⁹Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of America*, in *Early Western Travels*, Vol. V, p. 95.

⁶⁰Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage*, Vol. II, p. 41.

⁶¹Bates, Frederick, *The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates*, edited by Thomas Maitland Marshall, Vol. I, pp. 1-37.

⁶²Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 90; Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. III, p. 71; Darby, *Personal Recollections*, p. 15.

Among the non-Americans who came to Missouri after the purchase from France was John Mullanphy,⁶³ an Irishman who was a man of limited education but who had a powerful mind, strong prejudices and was tenacious of his rights. He was a successful business man and a philanthropist, and at his death was reckoned the richest man in the Mississippi Valley. Joseph Charless, editor of the *Missouri Gazette* from 1808 until 1820, was born in Ireland, came to America and later emigrated from Kentucky to Missouri. He made a valiant effort to steer between the warring factions in St. Louis, and to use his influence for the betterment of the community, but not always with success.⁶⁴

Thus it is seen that the people living in Missouri between 1804 and 1815 were a mixed group composed of creole French, a few Germans of negligible influence, a few Irish, and a growing majority of Americans, and that there were many extreme types. During the period lawlessness apparently held sway, although the population was basically sound. In time the more law-abiding element gained control and many people living in Missouri at this time became influential citizens, and some were political leaders who helped to dominate the territorial government and the Constitutional Convention of 1820.⁶⁵ The fur trade remained largely in the

⁶³Darby, *Personal Recollections*, pp. 70-81: John Mullanphy came to Missouri in 1804, opened a store in St. Louis, did a lucrative business, and lived humbly. He made his money in cotton, bought in New Orleans at three and four cents, which he sold in England at the close of the War of 1812 at a profit. Part of the specie thus obtained he sold to the U. S. government and it was used as a basis for the capital of the Bank of the United States. He had twelve children; all were well educated, mostly in Europe. He was most liberal in his gifts to charity. He gave the ground for the hospital of the Sisters of Charity, and gave a 999-year lease on the ground for the Sacred Heart Convent for the sum of one dollar, stipulating that twenty-five orphan girls should be maintained and educated by the nuns. At one time he deposited a sum of money with St. Louis' only baker for bread for the poor. He erected a large number of buildings and was continually involved in lawsuits with mechanics, laborers, etc. When he had to take a change of venue to St. Charles, he took along a box of his imported pure wine, labeled "Tracts." He owned a brewery. Mr. Mullanphy disliked the Masons and frequently asserted that they had cheated him out of \$50,000 in verdicts. At his death his wealth was reckoned in millions.

⁶⁴*Missouri Gazette*, May 1, 1818: "The *Gazette* has labored to be useful—it steered a middle course between the domineering knock'em down party in St. Louis, and a sober part of the community who disapproves of political and moral depravity." See also, *Missouri Gazette*, September 13, 1820.

⁶⁵Shoemaker, *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*, pp. 9-36.

hands of the French, with the exception of that controlled by William H. Ashley. Among the merchants of the next fourteen years were some men who had established themselves in Missouri before 1815. Then, too, there were the large number of common people, who were already hewing out a fortune for themselves on the public land and were beginning to establish ways of thought and action that were to be characteristic of the majority in Missouri by 1828. By this time the varied groups of 1815 had amalgamated and had become stratified.

THE COMING OF THE IMMIGRANTS

While the above brief description of the people who formed the bases of the population in 1815 seems satisfactory, it is necessary to give a more detailed discussion of the people living in Missouri during the period from 1815 to 1828, in order to explain the social basis of Jacksonian Democracy in Missouri. Besides those living in the territory in 1815, many were added by immigration. Beginning with the close of the War of 1812, Americans in great numbers turned their backs on the Atlantic and their faces to the West, the land of promise. Prior to 1819,⁶⁶ the majority stopped in Indiana, Illinois, Mississippi, and Alabama, but even so, large numbers came to Missouri. European countries, too, sent their quota to the settlements west of the Mississippi. To benefit from the new emigration movement which was under way in the East in 1815, Missouri had to have more land opened to settlement and this land had to be freed from Indians.

During 1815, citizens of Cote sans Dessein were attacked by Indians and four men were killed.⁶⁷ Others were killed in St. Charles county,⁶⁸ and even in St. Louis county.⁶⁹ The inhabitants of the Boon's Lick country were confined to

⁶⁶MacMaster, John Bach, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. IV, pp. 381-396.

⁶⁷*Missouri Gazette*, April 1, April 8, and April 29, 1815.

⁶⁸*Missouri Gazette*, May 27, 1815.

⁶⁹*Missouri Gazette*, June 10, 1815. By this time the army was criticised for not offering protection to the frontier, and was accused of staying at camp in Bellefontaine or in St. Louis which afforded more amusement to the men than they would have on the frontier.

three small picket forts during the entire year.⁷⁰ Despite all this, however, the Indians were no serious deterrent to the more venturesome American pioneers. In 1815, Giles Thompson led a group of men to Salt river on the Mississippi where some of them already had claims.⁷¹

In response to the needs of the new wave of emigrants, speculators opened additions to towns, founded new towns, and offered plantations for sale.⁷² It was generally anticipated that there would be an increased immigration in 1816. Charless, of the *Missouri Gazette*, notified his friends in Kentucky and Ohio, and the public in general, that he was opening a book for the sale of public lands, town lots, and slaves, and that he would serve the public conscientiously in this.⁷³ The national government was persuaded to have a survey made of a new tract of land amounting to one hundred townships. This land was supposed to include most of the Boon's Lick country, St. Charles county—the only organized county along the Mississippi north of the Missouri—and the remainder of the public lands in St. Louis county. Early in the spring the surveyors set out for Howard county.⁷⁴ Rufus Easton had worked hard while delegate to Congress to secure the location of new land offices in Missouri Territory, asking especially that one be located in Jackson, which had been founded in 1815.⁷⁵ Though squatters were rapidly filling up the lands in Cape Girardeau county, Congress refused them the boon of a land office at their door.⁷⁶ In anticipation of the desires of the large numbers pouring into St. Louis in 1816, three new additions to the town were opened by J. B. C. Lucas, Auguste Chouteau, and a Mr. Connor, and each was bidding for the location of the courthouse in his addition.⁷⁷

⁷⁰*Missouri Intelligencer*, January 17, 1823. A summary of the history and prospects of Boon's Lick was given in the *Intelligencer*, November, 1822, to February, 1823. *Missouri Gazette*, June 22, 1816.

⁷¹*Missouri Gazette*, October 14, 1815.

⁷²*Missouri Gazette*, December 9, 1815. October 14, 1815. May 18, 1816.

⁷³*Missouri Gazette*, March 23, 1816. This notice was dated as of December 28, 1815.

⁷⁴*Missouri Gazette*, April 20, 1816.

⁷⁵Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 119.

⁷⁶*Missouri Gazette*, April 13, 1816.

⁷⁷*Missouri Gazette*, May 18, 1816.

So great was the emigration from the East in 1816, that the editor of the *Missouri Gazette* said that a stranger witnessing the scene would imagine that Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas had made an agreement to add to the family of states as soon as possible, for every ferry on the river seemed daily occupied in passing families, carriages, wagons, negroes, carts, etc. These people appeared to be respectable families able to purchase large tracts of land. Missouri was offering them a hearty welcome, assuring them that there were millions of acres of land, with provisions cheap and abundant.⁷⁸ Undeterred by a lack of public land on the market, settlers chose the locations they wanted, built cabins, made clearings, and "sat down" to wait for the land to be put on the market.⁷⁹ The population grew so rapidly that the legislature was persuaded to grant to the Boon's Lick region its demand for organized local government by establishing Howard county.⁸⁰

In 1817, just as soon as the roads were dry enough for traveling, more immigrants came in and the towns and villages appeared crowded with strangers wanting to buy land. Some capitalists came planning to establish iron works. The *Missouri Gazette* assured its reading public that all Missouri needed was the immigration of men of science, industry and enterprise to develop the abundant natural resources, for there was a rich soil, valuable mines, and the fur and peltry trade waiting for the right men.⁸¹ Irked by the boasts of Indiana and Illinois about their rapid increase in population, the *Missouri Gazette* insisted that no western territory had received more immigrants than had Missouri in the past two years. Whether this was true or not, it does indicate that immigrants were coming in comparatively large numbers. The *Missouri Gazette* declared

⁷⁸*Missouri Gazette*, October 26, 1816.

⁷⁹*Missouri Gazette*, January 11, 1817, says: "A number of rich farmers had sat down in the neighborhood of Salt River waiting the opening of the Land Offices—the Indians are very numerous in that neighborhood, game being very abundant." The same thing was happening in Boon's Lick and in the southeast, around Jackson.

⁸⁰*Laws of the Territory of Missouri*, 1815-16, pp. 81-90; *Niles' Register*, October 19, 1816.

⁸¹*Missouri Gazette*, May 17, 1817.

that 1,000 families had located in Howard and St. Charles counties in the past twelve months.⁸² Franklin, in Howard county, and Boonville, in Cooper county, were laid out.⁸³ The town of Chariton was also laid out in Howard county by the ambitious Duff Green,⁸⁴ a brother-in-law of Ninian Edwards of Illinois. Green brought along a considerable quantity of merchandise, expecting to make a handsome profit from its sale.⁸⁵

By 1818, a wave of immigration was overflowing into Missouri and the crest of this reached the territory by 1819. In anticipation of the large number of foreigners expected in 1818,⁸⁶ an emigrant aid society was organized in St. Louis, especially for the Irish and Germans, "to prevent them from falling into penury and vice."⁸⁷ By July there had been organized the St. Louis Mechanics Benevolent Society.⁸⁸ In the meanwhile, Kendall of the *Kentucky Argus*, in the florid style of the time, said the tide of emigration was rolling into the western wilderness, and with resistless force was prostrating the forests which had waved over the beautiful region. He considered this the noblest conquest man had ever made and more worthy of the admiration of the world than the subjugation of kingdoms or the slaughter of millions in battle.⁸⁹ No doubt many of these immigrants hoped to reach Missouri in time for entry on new lands that the government had been persuaded to open that year.⁹⁰

John C. Brown of Virginia, appointed as deputy surveyor in Missouri, headed a group of eighty relatives, friends, and servants. On the way he passed immense multitudes bound for the Missouri and the Mississippi. Some were speculators who had just returned to Virginia from Alabama where they

⁸²Missouri *Gazette*, August 30, 1817.

⁸³Missouri *Intelligencer*, December 31, 1822.

⁸⁴Missouri *Intelligencer*, December 24, 1822.

⁸⁵Green, Duff, *Facts and Suggestions*, p. 19.

⁸⁶Missouri *Gazette*, May 29, 1818.

⁸⁷Missouri *Gazette*, February 13, 1818. Thomas Brady and Thomas Handly presided, and on the committee on resolutions were Jeremiah Connor, John Mullanphy, James M'Gunnegle, Alexander Blackwell, and Arthur McGinnis.

⁸⁸Missouri *Gazette*, July 10, 1818.

⁸⁹Missouri *Gazette*, May 29, 1818.

⁹⁰Missouri *Gazette*, August 28, 1818.

had bought land and later sold it. They said they were coming to Missouri to make a permanent location,⁹¹ but undoubtedly they expected to garner another harvest by speculation in public lands.

By December there were sparse settlements from St. Charles west to Chariton, extending even south of the Missouri across from the Boon's Lick country.⁹² The settlements were growing rapidly on Salt river, up the Mississippi a hundred miles from St. Louis, where the land was noted for its fertility. Comparatively little, however, is known of this settlement, for it lacked a press agent.⁹³

The number of counties organized in 1818 is an indication of the increase in population since 1816, when Howard county was created. The location of these counties gives a mental picture of the location and extent of settlement at this time. In 1818 alone the counties of Wayne, Madison, Jefferson, Franklin, Lincoln, Pike, Montgomery, and Cooper were organized.⁹⁴ Thus the population had extended farther up and inland from the Mississippi and along both sides of the Missouri as far as Cooper and Howard counties, although of course there were wide stretches of uninhabited land between the scattered settlements.⁹⁵

In 1819 the United States experienced a depression due to post-war speculation and general world financial stress, and so larger numbers migrated in 1819, many coming to Missouri, with its famed Boon's Lick country,⁹⁶ reckoned as the Canaan of America, "the land flowing with milk and honey." A writer from St. Charles waxed eloquent regarding the very welcome immigrants, who were bringing Missouri her first boom, and so inevitably her first depression,

⁹¹*Missouri Gazette*, November 6, 1818.

⁹²Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 144.

⁹³Schoolcraft, *Scenes and Adventures in the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas*, pp. 224-228.

⁹⁴*Laws of the Territory of Missouri*, 1818, pp. 67, 78, 87, 97, 105, 114, 123, 131.

⁹⁵*United States Census, 1840*.

⁹⁶Flint, *Recollections*, pp. 203-217. Immigrants were on their way to Boon's Lick or Salt river in 1819, but later it would be Texas that was the pole star of attraction, and then Oregon and California. Flint was sure that nothing could or would limit emigration but "the Western Ocean." When the Pacific is reached "they may set them down and weep for other worlds."

though the latter was not foreseen. He said that caravans of immigrants from Tennessee and Kentucky⁹⁷

. . . . flowing through St. Charles with men servants and maid servants, their flocks and their herds, remind the citizens of the patriarchal ages . . . Some turn to Boon's Lick, some to Salt River—lands of promise. The tinkling bells, the cloud of dust, the throng of hogs and cattle, the white headed children, the curly headed Africans, smiling infancy, blooming virgins, athletic manhood, and decrepit age, altogether form groups too interesting to be painted by the pencil of Teniers.

From June to November, 1819, immigrants were coming in droves.⁹⁸ According to the records of the time, in one week 170 families crossed at Portage des Sioux,⁹⁹ just above the mouth of the Missouri; a large keel boat "loaded with families" traveled directly from Cumberland county, Kentucky, to Boon's Lick;¹⁰⁰ 100 families crossed the Missouri river at St. Charles on their way to Howard county, and it was estimated that 12,000 people passed through St. Charles during the ten weeks prior to November 1.¹⁰¹ Flint remembered seeing 100 immigrants passing through St. Charles in one day. They were conveyed by nine wagons to each of which were harnessed from four to six horses. He thought one should allow 100 cattle, besides hogs, horses, and sheep, and from three or four to twenty slaves to each wagon.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ *Missouri Gazette*, June 9, 1819.

⁹⁸ *Missouri Herald*, September 4, 1819, advertised in the *Daily Emigrant's Guide* for those desiring to settle on the White, St. Francis, or the Osage rivers.

⁹⁹ *Missouri Gazette*, June 9, 1819.

¹⁰⁰ *Missouri Intelligencer*, July 9, 1819.

¹⁰¹ In the *St. Louis Enquirer* of October 30, 1819, it is said that 400 or 500 had crossed the Mississippi daily in October. The *Missouri Intelligencer* of November 19, 1819, said that there were 120 wagons per week with an average of ten persons per wagon. They brought with them wealth in the form of slaves, herds of cattle, fine road wagons, and many handsome carriages. The *Enquirer* of November 10, 1819, recorded that during the month of October, 271 wagons and four-wheeled carriages, 55 two-wheeled carriages and carts, and many pack horses passed Mrs. Griffith's on the Missouri, bound for the Boon's Lick region, the Salt river region, and other points. With the moderate count of ten souls to the wagon, this would make 3,000 arriving at one point. Thus, there must have been "10 to 15 thousand, all told, in October."

¹⁰² Flint, *Recollections*, pp. 199-202. He further said: "The whole appearance of the train, the cattle with their hundred bells; the negroes with delight in their countenances, for their labours are suspended and their imaginations excited; the wagons, often carrying two or three tons, so loaded that the mistress and children are strolling carelessly along, in a gait which enables them to keep up with the slow traveling carriage; the whole group occupies three quarters of a mile. The slaves generally seem fond of their master, and quite as much delighted and interested in the immigration as the master."

John Darby's father, who had bought 600 acres on Bonhomme Creek in 1809, moved his family to Missouri in 1819. They came in a covered wagon with a five-horse team, and a gig for the mother. They brought with them negroes, and a "goodly number" of cattle, hogs, and sheep, all driven on foot from Kentucky. They were ferried across the Mississippi by Frenchmen. In St. Louis they found themselves in an unfamiliar atmosphere dominated by the French, whose language was commonly spoken, even by negroes. They noted the strange custom of fastening the yoke to the horns of the oxen, instead of to the neck. Equally unfamiliar were the little Canadian horses, primitive harness, and rude carts with wooden wheels, which sometimes broke on the rough pavement of the streets.¹⁰³

Most of the newly arriving immigrants came from Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, though some were from other states, such as Pennsylvania, and the fact that some were Irish is evidenced by the organization of the Erin Benevolent Society in St. Louis.¹⁰⁴ This addition to the population—a considerable number of whom were reputed to be persons of property and information, accompanied by slaves—only whetted the desire for more immigrants. The editor of the *Missouri Gazette*, on August 18, 1819, noted that large numbers had already embarked from England and Ireland and presumably many of these would find their way to Missouri, the land of promise.¹⁰⁵ Missouri already had Welsh, Scotch, and English among her settlers. The people who came were of varied occupations, though most of them were farmers. The prospect for the latter was almost un-

¹⁰³Darby, *Personal Recollections*, pp. 1-12. Later, when their national peculiarities were held up to ridicule, a French defender (*Enquirer*, April 20, 1822) said that they did not put iron on their wheels because they could not afford to and had no intention of extravagances which would put them into debt, as happened to other people.

¹⁰⁴*Missouri Gazette*, October 27, 1819: Membership was fifty cents per month, and a \$5 fine was to be assessed for failure to accept office, to perform duty or for disorderly conduct. A committee was appointed to visit the distressed, to give relief, but not more than \$5 was to be given to any one family.

¹⁰⁵*Missouri Gazette*, July 7, 1819: It was reported that 1,100, chiefly property holders, had left England, which that country looked upon "as a mischief." According to rumor (*Missouri Gazette*, August 18, 1819), 20,000 had left Ireland for the United States, and it was supposed that most of these would settle west of the Allegheny Mountains.

limited, with abundant land to be had at \$2 per acre, with a five-year credit. There was said to be a lively demand for carpenters, blacksmiths, and tanners.¹⁰⁶ Merchants and professional men, however, were not encouraged to come. One editor remarked that "Superior talents and information should be encouraged, but we have sufficient of mediocrity already."¹⁰⁷

As a result of the large number of immigrants in 1818-19, the Legislature of 1820 organized the following counties:¹⁰⁸ Perry between Ste. Genevieve and Cape Girardeau; Ralls, north of Pike; Gasconade, Cole, Saline, Lillard (later Lafayette), Callaway, Boone, Chariton, and Ray, along the north and south banks of the Missouri to the western border, although settlement did not extend that far.

This immigration was halted, if not almost entirely stopped, before the end of 1819. It was not until 1821 that editors once more noted the number of immigrants entering the State, and from that time the stream increased steadily.¹⁰⁹ Most of these settled on the upper Mississippi along Salt river, or in the counties along the upper Missouri.¹¹⁰

The people who came to Missouri in the twenties apparently came in a fairly leisurely way, if one can accept the

¹⁰⁶ *Missouri Gazette*, November 3, 1819.

¹⁰⁷ *Missouri Gazette*, November 3, 1819; November 17, 1819: By September Niles' *Register* reported that the country was becoming over-stocked, but Charles denied that this was true of the West, save that it was over-stocked with bank speculators, merchants doing business on fictitious capital, and a few other "shavers." The opportunities were said to be splendid for the right persons. "No country can afford better prospects to the industrious and prudent agriculturalist, mechanic, or laborer, than this—for the agriculturist there is abundance of good land at \$2 per acre—for the mechanic there is plenty of work at high prices—and laborers receive in most places from 75c to \$1 a day. If foreigners are burthensome on the sea coast let them shape their course to the western country which will yet afford 'a sure refuge to the industrious foreign immigrant'."

¹⁰⁸ *Laws of the State of Missouri*, 1st General Assembly, 1st Sess., 1820, pp. 13-14; 17-18; 21-34; 48-55.

¹⁰⁹ *St. Louis Enquirer*, April 28, 1821, quoting a Woodstock Virginia paper, said that a small cavalcade, commanded by Mr. John Gaw, Sr., having received the benedictions of relations and friends, had started for Franklin, Missouri.

¹¹⁰ The *Missouri Republican* of December 17, 1823, reported more immigrants in this year than in any previous year since 1819.

report of Duden.¹¹¹ The emigrant sold his property in the East and then loaded his family and household possessions and taking his livestock and his servants, started on a not unpleasant and fairly leisurely migration. Emigration was usually undertaken in the autumn, because of the prevailing fine weather. Such provisions as corn, smoked pork, beans, peas, rice, flour, cheese and fruit were taken on the journey. The emigrants camped along the way. The livestock had to be carefully tethered or it would start back home. Oxen had been known to travel one hundred miles and swim the Missouri river in an attempt to return. Ownerless horses were always to be found where the Missouri and the Mississippi joined, for they could go no farther. As soon as the immigrants arrived at the place where they planned to make their future home, they built a temporary enclosure for the protection of household goods and tents, and to keep away the stock from other settlements. A site for the house was chosen near a good spring, and over the spring in time would be built a small house in order to prevent pollution of the water, and also to afford a place to keep milk, butter, and meat. With the aid of neighbors, a one-room log cabin was erected to shelter the family. If there were slaves, a cabin was erected nearby for them. In time there would be a smoke house and barn. A small acreage would be cleared for the first crop.

By 1824 the tide of immigration had gained considerable impetus, for people were coming in large caravans, bringing the usual livestock.¹¹² The year 1825 far outshone 1824. According to popular estimate, there were ten times as many immigrants as in the previous year.¹¹³ These, still largely from Kentucky and Tennessee, as were their pre-

¹¹¹Duden, Gottfried, "Gottfried Duden's 'Report', 1824-1827," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (April, 1918), pp. 163-168.

¹¹²*Missouri Republican*, October 25, 1824: One man met 80 wagons between Clay County and St. Louis. The *Missouri Intelligencer*, November 6, 1824, quoting the *Missouri Republican*, recorded the coming of 74 families since September 11, and thought that as many more came in the previous eleven days. These brought livestock and sheep.

¹¹³*Missouri Republican*, October 10, 1825; *Missouri Intelligencer*, October 14, 1825, reported that upward of one hundred families were on the way to Boon's Lick, some of whom had already reached the "farmer's Paradise."

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cessors of 1819, were bringing with them horses, cattle, and sheep, thus giving evidence of being men of wealth.¹¹⁴

Apparently, in 1826 Missouri continued to be a place of promise to migrating Americans,¹¹⁵ although they did not come in as large numbers as in 1819. It was estimated that the increase in 1826 would be five hundred families, who would probably settle mainly on the upper Mississippi and Missouri. Fortunately, the corn crop was abundant, and it was confidently asserted that there would be enough to tide the newcomers over until they could grow their own crops.¹¹⁶ Immigration continued to increase and in 1829 the accession to the population was estimated at several thousand, with two hundred wagons on their way from Kentucky and Virginia.¹¹⁷

The census returns of 1830, showing a population of 140,455, is unquestioned evidence of the growth of the State's population during this decade. The organization of new counties indicates that settlement continued to follow the courses of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and filled in the hinterland. The central part of the State on the north and the south had to wait for settlers until the more choice land along the watercourses was taken. Between 1821 and 1829, inclusive, seven new counties were organized, a fact which shows clearly the increase of population and the desire for a more convenient local government. Along the Mississippi from south to north were organized Scott, St. Francois, Crawford, and Marion counties; Randolph in central Missouri north of Howard; and on the western border, Clay and Jackson.¹¹⁸ Thus, by 1830, in almost their per-

¹¹⁴ *Missouri Intelligencer*, October 28, 1825, reported that 300 wagons had passed through St. Charles, and that as many more were somewhere between Missouri and the Ohio river.

¹¹⁵ *Missouri Republican*, October 19, 1826: One man met sixty or seventy wagons, principally from Kentucky, all of them bringing slaves and having the appearance of belonging to persons of wealth.

¹¹⁶ *Indiana Patriot*, November 22, 1826, quoting the *Missouri Intelligencer*: Corn was selling at from 37 to 50 cents.

¹¹⁷ *Missouri Republican*, November 18, 1828: Between Louisville and St. Louis one man counted 200 wagons, principally from Virginia and Kentucky, all destined for Missouri.

¹¹⁸ *Laws of the State of Missouri*, 1st General Assembly, 2nd Sess., 1821, pp. 28-30; 32-36; *Laws of the State of Missouri*, 2nd General Assembly, 2nd Sess., 1822, pp. 60-62; *Laws of the State of Missouri*, 3rd General Assembly, 1st Sess., 1827-28, pp. 30-31; 40-41; *Laws of the State of Missouri*, 5th General Assembly, 1st Sess., 1828-29, pp. 23, 42-44.

manent form, organized local governments had been established along the Mississippi save on the northern border, and on both sides of the Missouri to the western border. Consequently, most of the choice land of the State, as it was then constituted, had been occupied.

By 1828 Missouri was a true melting pot,¹¹⁹ for its population was composed of the original French inhabitants and their descendants; a few foreigners—mostly from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales—and a very large majority of Americans. The latter were mainly from the states south of the Ohio river: Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas, with Kentuckians and Tennesseans predominating. The aggressive Americans were of the dominating group in the State. Social conditions in Missouri, therefore, were determined very largely by the social customs brought by these immigrants, modified by the Missouri frontier environment.

THE KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE HERITAGE

Since the majority of the American immigrants to Missouri prior to 1828 came from Kentucky and Tennessee, a brief statement of the ideals and customs of the people of these states should furnish some approximation of the ideals and customs of most of the immigrants at the time they entered Missouri, especially as most of the settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee came originally through the mountains from North Carolina and the uplands of Virginia. Besides those of English origin, there were discontented, restless Scotch-Irish Presbyterians originally from Pennsylvania; Regulators of North Carolina of the "Separate" Baptist faith of New England origin; Quakers; Irishmen, among whom were runaway indentured servants; French Huguenots; Germans; Dutch and Swedes—all lured by the promise of adventure or of bettering their economic and social position.

¹¹⁹Missouri *Gazette*, June 27, 1822: Even Missourians recognized the polyglot character of their population, as it was said: "The Yankee *guesses*, the Kentuckian *reckons*, and the French *conjectures*, times are prodigious hard; and the poor unfortunate African will be qualified to swear that Loan Office money is no better than Jimson leaves, and wonder '*What for Guvernor make such monies?*'"

These were the type of people who followed Boone into Kentucky and who possessed the usual characteristics of the pioneer which enabled them to adapt themselves to a frontier environment. They were independent, liberty-loving, democratic, shrewd, courageous, enthusiastic, aggressive, frugal, contentious, unceremonious in religion, honest, versatile, and had a high faith in themselves.¹²⁰ The frontier environment strengthened these characteristics, for defense against Indians and wild animals and the necessity of securing food and clothing, largely through individual effort, would put to test individual ability and develop initiative and ingenuity.

The settler built a rude log cabin. For the vast majority, apparently at first and for a long time, meat and corn were not only the principal, but almost the sole articles of diet in Tennessee.¹²¹ Where there were no slaves the labor of the entire family was required to keep down the weeds.¹²² The more prosperous and fortunate individuals ultimately established a plantation and built a house after the type of those built by the better class in Virginia and the Carolinas, and assumed social and political leadership.¹²³ Here was reproduced the attractive social class of the planter type of Virginia and the Carolinas, whose men gambled, kept race horses, and bet, and whose women were reputed to possess all the social graces of women of great refinement. The necessities of the frontier made the people aggressive, and they were quarrelsome and given to wrangling, which often ended in a fight or duel. They possessed confidence in themselves and in the land in which they lived. The opportunity for the

¹²⁰Turner, Frederick Jackson, *Rise of the New West*, p. 51; McElroy, Robert M., *Kentucky in the Nation's History*; *Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vols. I, II, VI, and VII; Perrin, W. H., *Pioneer Press of Kentucky*; Price, Samuel Woodson, *The Old Masters of the Bluegrass*. In this summary of the economic, social, and political customs and attitudes of Kentuckians, no attempt has been made to make more than a general survey of the above references.

¹²¹Ramsey, James G. M., *Annals of Tennessee*, pp. 718-720.

¹²²Holt, Albert C., "Economic and Social Beginnings of Tennessee," in *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (April, 1924), p. 24.

¹²³Thruston, R. C. B. (editor), "Letter by Edward Harris, 1797," in *Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 4 (July, 1928), pp. 164-168. Edward Harris, in a letter to Thomas Christie of New Hampshire, described one plantation that had forty tenants, most of whom, after four or five years, would move out and set up on a farm of their own.

common man to rise seemed limited only by his ambition, and the majority of them were not lacking in this quality.¹²⁴

In Tennessee a man was judged not by his family, but by his own personal merits, among which were physical prowess, good nature, capacity to amuse, sincerity, and loyalty. The drinking of liquor was common.¹²⁵ Horse-stealing was a most heinous offense and was punished severely.¹²⁶ Although the pioneers of Tennessee, as elsewhere, are pictured with long faces and of serious mien, these people were not without a sense of humor. Tennessee produced David Crockett, the humorist of his day, and the pride of Missourians as well as of Tennesseans. Among the amusements and sports may be listed apple boilings, quilttings, house-raisings, log-rollings, husking bees, bear hunts, deer drives, target shooting, jumping, boxing, wrestling, foot races, and horse races.¹²⁷ Out of these innocent amusements sometimes grew fights and duels among the quarrelsome and sensitive. An example of this is seen in the quarrels and fights of Jackson and the Bentons.

Kentuckians and Tennesseans were public spirited; they were loyal to the national government, though resentful of its failure to secure navigation rights on the Mississippi.¹²⁸ At the same time, they guarded closely their political rights as the only surety for the maintenance of their natural rights, among which was the protection of property. They were quick to call public meetings to discuss questions of general interest and to express approbation or condemnation of

¹²⁴Thruston, "Letter by Edward Harris, 1797," in *Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 4 (July, 1928), p. 164. "Harris said, 'In short, I believe it to be the richest and best poor man's country in the world'."

¹²⁵Holt, "Economic and Social Beginnings of Tennessee," in *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (April, 1924), p. 50. They used apple and peach brandy, rye whiskey, wines, etc. There was a bar in all taverns, and well equipped farms might have a still. Drinking, undoubtedly, added to quarrels on county court days.

¹²⁶Holt, "Economic and Social Beginnings of Tennessee," in *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Vol. VII, No. 3 (October 1921), p. 213. John Wilson and James Fulsom were sentenced to the pillory for one hour, ears to be nailed to the pillory and severed from the head; thirty-nine lashes on their backs, well laid on, and each branded with an H on the right cheek and a T on the left cheek. In many cases death sentences were given.

¹²⁷Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, p. 720.

¹²⁸McElroy, *Kentucky in the Nation's History*, pp. 185-211.

public policy.¹²⁹ Physical prowess, a practical sense of justice, and an understanding of the common man, were essential to public preferment, and almost any ambitious man might hope to rise to a public station.¹³⁰ The people of Kentucky and Tennessee, as is typical of the frontier, lacked financial knowledge and ability, and so suffered from speculation in land and an orgy of unsound bank note issues. Then they tried the unhappy experiment of legislating themselves out of debt.

In religion, they were a polyglot group, though fundamentally the differences were not so great as appearances might lead one to think. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians brought along their ideas of independence, predestination, and the worth of the individual. The "Separate" Baptists developed out of the liberal religious movement in New England in the middle of the eighteenth century. This group denied all creeds and rules save that of the Bible, and taught that "The righteous will persevere through grace, glory, and none of them finally fall away." There is evidence of much wrangling among the Baptists, especially in Kentucky, where they were probably the largest religious group in 1799.¹³¹ Some people were deists and professed to follow the golden rule.¹³² The Methodists of Tennessee, in 1784, led the other sects in declaring slavery contrary to the laws of God, and they forbade preachers to own slaves. The rules against slavery, however, gradually weakened as slave-holding immigrants came in,¹³³ and especially after the invention of the cotton gin, when machinery made cotton production profitable. In 1796, in Logan county, Kentucky, James

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 220-264, 313-314, 317, 334, 377-407; *St. Louis Enquirer*, June 9, 1819. Warren, Louis A., "The Religious Background of the Lincoln Family," in *Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (January, 1932), p. 79, says slavery was by far the most fruitful source of mischief of all the questions that agitated the Baptist Church in Kentucky, 1788-1820.

¹³⁰Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, p. 724.

¹³¹Warren, "The Religious Background of the Lincoln Family," in *Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (January, 1932), pp. 79-87. Warren says that in 1799 there were 95 Baptist ministers in Kentucky, 40 Presbyterians, and 12 Methodists. It has been said that 20 of the 95 were Separate Baptists.

¹³²Perrin, *The Pioneer Press of Kentucky*, p. 35.

¹³³Martin, Asa R., "Anti-Slavery Activities of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Tennessee," in *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 2 (June, 1916), pp. 98-101.

McGrady of North Carolina, with the help of William and John McCree of Tennessee, inaugurated the first camp-meeting. The result was a spiritual awakening popularly known as the Great Revival. Out of this grew the custom of annual camp-meetings which were of great social consequence. The strong emotional appeal served as a unifying force to bind the people together.

In Kentucky, a newspaper, one of the first evidences of permanent settlement in the West, was established as early as 1787. Among the newspapermen who won national recognition was the democratic Amos Kendall.¹²⁴ The Presbyterians established Transylvania Seminary in 1783, out of which developed Transylvania University, founded in 1798. The Legislature of Kentucky made grants of land to several academies, for the leading citizens of Kentucky felt that an educated citizenry was the only assurance against even the best of governments becoming tyrannical and disregarding the natural rights of the people.¹²⁵ From these schools were developed orators—the pride of the common man—and a group of progressive men of medicine.¹²⁶ Martin College, established in 1799, was the first of a series of schools in which Tennesseans could obtain the rudiments of education.¹²⁷ Young women were admitted on terms of equality with the men.¹²⁸ Although there were physicians,¹²⁹ home remedies

¹²⁴Perrin, *The Pioneer Press of Kentucky*, pp. 10, 25, 26.

¹²⁵Whitaitt, William H., *Life and Times of Judge Caleb Wallace*, pp. 122-130.

¹²⁶Bay, J. Christian, "Dr. Daniel Drake, 1785-1852," in *Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 1 (January, 1933), pp. 6-7.

¹²⁷Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, pp. 721-723; Holt, "Economic and Social Beginnings of Tennessee," in *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (April, 1924), pp. 57-63.

¹²⁸Holt, "Economic and Social Beginnings of Tennessee," in *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Vol. VII, No. 4 (January, 1922), pp. 307-308.

¹²⁹McCormack, Mrs. Arthur T., "Our Pioneer Heroine of Surgery—Mrs. Jane Todd Crawford," in *Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (April, 1932), p. 113. Mrs. McCormack tells a story of Dr. Ephraim McDowell, who performed an operation on Mrs. Jane Todd Crawford to remove an ovarian tumor, although he had never known of such an operation ever having been performed before.

were commonly used¹⁴⁰—one of which was: "Take three small balls of spider webb for three mornings in Lyquor or Tea—is a cure for fever and ague or dumb ague." Of the lawyer class, Thomas Hart Benton and the Bartons should be mentioned, since all of them later won renown in Missouri.

Here was developed a variety of talents, interests and occupations,¹⁴¹ and in this environment was established the leadership of the nationalistic Henry Clay and the democratic editor, Amos Kendall. In Tennessee were bred the democratic and nationalistic leaders, Andrew Jackson, Sam Houston, and Thomas Hart Benton. Like other frontier regions, these states had criminals and outlaws, such as the Harpes.¹⁴² Some of these, too, crossed over into Missouri and helped to give the State an undesirable reputation at times.

It is from the above varied groups that Missouri received her future citizens, and they brought with them the same spirit of independence, courage, ambition, rude virtues, and strength and weaknesses. Men in Missouri constantly looked back to experiences in Kentucky, especially, as a guide for solving their own problems.

From the above summaries of the character of the people of Kentucky and Tennessee, it is evident that one of the most distinctive characteristics of the men who came to Missouri from the border states was their insatiable desire for land, for they commonly held a deep conviction that the ownership of land was both a means to and a mark of success, since most of the social and political leaders of these states were owners of large plantations who lived more or less in

¹⁴⁰Holt, "Economic and Social Beginnings of Tennessee," in *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Vol. VII, No. 4 (January, 1922), p. 309. Besides this and other remedies, John Sevier wrote in his diary the following: "Take a handful of the inside bark of prickly ash about six inches long, the same quantity of red earth worms, and about the same quantity of both articles of the oil of hog's feet, and stew all together until the worms are dissolved. Strain out the sediment and anoint with the oil for Rheumatism."

¹⁴¹Altaheler, Brent, "C. C. Graham, M. D." in *Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 2 (April, 1933), pp. 67-85. Dr. C. C. Graham, born in Kentucky in 1784, and who lived to be a centenarian, is an excellent example of this. He was hunter, sailor, soldier in three wars, a silversmith, and a surgeon. He attempted to survey a railroad, established two health resorts, and at the age of 78, was married a second time to a girl of twenty-two.

¹⁴²Rother, Otto A., "The Harpes, Two Outlaws of Pioneer Times," in *Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 4 (July, 1927), pp. 155-163.

luxury and ease. Ambitious citizens from these states planned to acquire a tract of land and looked forward to founding a family that would take its place in social and political leadership. They had had experience in making a living under crude and isolated conditions, and they were accustomed to a self-sufficient agriculture.

The immigrants who came to Missouri adjusted themselves to the new environment and took on characteristics peculiar to the State. Atwater, visiting St. Louis in 1829, said:¹⁴³

Although this town was originally settled by the French, and although Spain governed this country a while, yet the people now are of as mixed a character, as almost any town of the Union presents. The character of the people may be safely set down, though, as being nearly the same, with the best people of Kentucky, Tennessee, and old Virginia, with one additional trait of character—they have all the hospitality of the old Virginians, Kentuckians and Tennesseans, and at the same time they are, without doubt, the most enterprising people in the world.

I suspect, that for their numbers, the population of St. Louis, in particular, and of Missouri in general, is as intelligent, enterprising, active, and industrious as any in the world. I confess, that I have seen no people quite equal to them in these respects, anywhere else.

It is evident that by 1828 peculiarities due to geographical origin were disappearing, and even outstanding groups like the French and men of aristocratic plantation ideals had become less obvious, as the people assumed frontier characteristics and threw off the control of the aristocratic leaders of the "better class." Nevertheless, during this period the terms "Yankee," "Federalist," and "Tory" continued to be terms to conjure with as expressive of contempt and hatred, and damning to any man's reputation.¹⁴⁴ There was likewise some cruel raillery against the French, showing the intolerance of the Americans.¹⁴⁵

By 1830 the State could boast a population of 140,455, which had assumed a stratified form indicative of different social levels and economic interests. By this time they had divided into two political groups, with the Jackson men predominating.

¹⁴³Atwater, *Remarks Made on a Tour to Prairie du Chien*, p. 53.

¹⁴⁴This is revealed especially in the toasts of the time, as quoted in the *Missouri Intelligencer*, the *Missouri Gazette*, the *St. Louis Enquirer*, and other papers of the time.

¹⁴⁵*St. Louis Enquirer*, April 20, 1822.

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PAROQUETS IN MISSOURI

That flocks of screaming, gayly colored paroquets once lent a touch of tropical splendor to the woods and streams of Missouri is scarcely believable. Yet numerous accounts of early travelers record the wide range of these brilliantly plumaged birds throughout the State. Among these accounts, that of Gert Goebel, German follower of Duden who settled in Franklin county in the thirties, is particularly vivid. Goebel writes:

Before I conclude . . . I must mention a beautiful bird which has ceased to come to central Missouri . . . Until the late thirties great flocks of paroquets came into our region every fall and frequently remained until the following spring. They were a small variety, about the size of a dove. They were bright green in color, and their heads were orange colored. These flocks of paroquets were a real ornament to the trees stripped of their foliage in winter. The sight was particularly attractive when such a flock of several hundred settled on a big sycamore, where the bright green color of the birds was in such marked contrast with the white bark of the trees, and when the sun shone brightly upon these inhabited tree tops, the many yellow heads looked like so many candles. This sight always reminded me vividly of a kind of Christmas tree . . .

Still another account of paroquets is that given by the American ornithologist and naturalist, J. K. Townsend, in his *Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River*. In an entry in his journal for April 7, 1833, when he was near Boonville, Townsend says:

We saw here vast numbers of the beautiful parrot of this country (the *Psittacus carolinensis*). They flew around us in flocks, keeping a constant and loud screaming, as though they would chide us for invading

their territory; and the splendid green and red of their plumage glancing in the sunshine, as they whirled and circled within a few feet of us, had a most magnificent appearance. They seem entirely unsuspicous of danger, and after being fired at, only huddle closer together, as if to obtain protection from each other, and as their companions are falling around them, they curve down their necks, and look at them fluttering upon the ground, as though perfectly at a loss to account for so unusual an occurrence. It is a most inglorious sort of shooting; downright, cold-blooded murder.

In the account of his *First Journey to North America in the Years 1822 and 1824*, written by Prince Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Wuerttemberg, and translated from the German by Dr. William G. Bek, there are several references to paroquets along the course of the Missouri. Of their presence in large numbers near Fort Osage, Prince Paul says:

On the Missouri near Fort Osage, I do not recall ever having seen so many parrots in one place. When I shot one of these from a tree on which hundreds of these birds were sitting, the others did not fly away but only made a horrible noise.

Others who describe the presence of these brilliant and beautiful birds in Missouri and along the Mississippi and Ohio where they were equally abundant, are Maximilian, Prince of Wied, Timothy Flint, John Woods, William Faux, John Evans, Count Francisco Arese, J. J. Audubon, and Stephen H. Long. Maximilian says that the paroquets were "amusing birds," which, if kept in a cage, became quite tame. Their manner and note, he records, much resembled the long-tailed paroquet of Brazil. He describes them as flying rapidly from one tree to another, emitting at the same time a shrill cry and displaying to great advantage their bright green plumage. Woods mentions them as being "mischievous" and identifies them as the same kind of birds which were kept in cages in England. Evans notes that they were smaller but more beautiful than the common parrot. Long writes of them as gayly-plumed birds which constantly enlivened the gloomy forests with their bright color and their loquacity.

In Missouri, paroquets found an abundance of their favorite foods, the cockle-bur and the hackberry, which then, as today, abounded along the fertile river bottoms.

Particularly are they associated in early accounts with the giant sycamore whose seeds they not only sought for food, but in the branches of which they liked to roost and nest. Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist, notes that they were also attracted to the salines or salt licks, about which he says he never failed to find large flocks of paroquets. These birds with their vivid green bodies and brilliant yellow or orange heads must have formed an arresting sight, particularly in winter, when seen, as Maximilian describes them, sitting in rows close to each other to keep themselves warm in the January sun or adorning the gaunt, bare branches of the giant sycamore like gayly-lighted green candles.

Because of the ease with which they could be shot, there is something tragic and pathetic in the disappearance of these birds in Missouri. Otto Widmann, in his *Preliminary Catalog of the Birds of Missouri*, writes:

When Audubon, Harris, Bell and Squires went up the Missouri River in 1843, they did not meet with any paroquets until they came to Independence, when, on May 2, 1843, Bell killed two; on the next day he again "killed one out of a great number." . . . On his return trip in the fall of the same year, he [Audubon] speaks of killing four "Parakeets," on October 9, 1843, the day before reaching Fort Leavenworth. When Dr. P. R. Hoy visited the state on his tour of exploration of western Missouri in 1854, Paroquets were still plentiful in some localities. April 27, 1854, he writes at Boonville: "Went on the river bottom; got one Parrakeet." At Chillicothe, May 16, 1854: "Went on the extensive bottoms of Grand River . . . Parrakeets are abundant about the large sycamores . . . Mr. H. C. Masters of Atchison, Kansas, an early settler of western Missouri, says that when he located at Iatan, Platte Co., Mo., in the early fifties, there were hundreds of Paroquets in the Missouri River bottom. F. V. Hayden, in his report on the Geology and Natural History of the Upper Missouri, says of the Paroquets: "Very abundant in the Mississippi Valley along thickly wooded bottoms as far up the Missouri River as Fort Leavenworth, possibly as high as the mouth of the Platte, but never seen above that point." That was from 1855 to 1857 . . .

Captain Bendire frequently saw flocks in the fall and winter, 1860-61, at Fort Smith, Ark., but in Missouri flocks of Paroquets seem to have faded away with the fifties. From that time, they became rarer and rarer. Dr. A. F. Eimbeck saw the last, November 3, 1867, in Warren Co., seven Paroquets in an orchard; and his brother-in-law saw the last in 1865 near Pomme de Terre Creek, in Franklin Co. . . .

Mr. B. T. Gault wrote in 1888: "At one time Paroquets were very plentiful at Paroquet Bluff between Newport and Batesville on the White

River, but none have been seen there for at least eight years." . . . Lately Mr. Thurman S. Powell informed me that on July 18, 1905, a Paroquet was seen and watched for some time at the gate in front of the post-office at Notch, Stone Co., by the postmaster, Mr. Levi Merrill . . . The latest report comes from Atchison, Kansas, on the Missouri River between Leavenworth and St. Joseph. Mr. George S. Remsberg of Oak Mills, Kan., . . . writes that in August, 1904, his brother, Mr. Wirt Remsberg, killed a Paroquet on the Remsberg fruit farm . . . a few miles south of Atchison, opposite Platte Co., Mo. The bird was alone and was observed several days before it was killed. It made a loud, chattering noise as it flew about the country and attracted much attention. Mr. Remsberg positively identified it as a Paroquet, but says it was too badly mangled to be preserved.

Few accounts of contemporary writers throw much light upon the reasons for the disappearance of the paroquet in Missouri. That they were ruthlessly shot is conclusively shown by early accounts; not even Audubon, it seems, can escape the indictment of ruthless killing. Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Wuerttemberg, notes that the flesh of the paroquet was tough and black; it therefore could not have been prized as food, though he says that fish liked the flesh and that it was used as bait. Long, in one of his entries, mentions the use of whole skins of the paroquet as a headdress by a number of Sioux Indians. Many, too, were no doubt killed by the settlers, for Duden mentions that they "were very destructive to orchards" and "hurled themselves in flocks" upon the apples. Interestingly, Long makes the observation that "it is remarkable that this bird is subject to a disease resembling apoplexy." In view of the large number of paroquets, however, and their apparent hardihood many years after Long wrote, it would seem that disease played but a small part in their destruction. The probability is that Missouri's paroquets were exterminated by hunters and settlers.

THE WHIPPING POST AND THE PILLORY IN MISSOURI

In a day when Missouri could boast few jails and no penitentiary, the whipping post and the pillory were common instruments of justice. Every courthouse in Missouri, according to one authority, had either one or both. To early residents of Missouri, it seems, they were unquestioned and established institutions.

The use of the whipping post in Missouri dates back to the Spanish régime. Daniel Boone, who served as syndic of the Femme Osage District during the Spanish period, is said by historians to have used the whipping post in administering justice. The pillory, while not definitely traceable back to the Spanish régime, though it probably existed then, is known to have been in use in the early days of Missouri's territorial government. By the middle 1820s, when Lafayette made his memorable visit to St. Louis, the whipping post and the pillory which stood in the center of the courthouse square in full view of the public must long have been familiar objects to St. Louisans.

The story of these ancient modes of punishment in Missouri is told for the most part in the various criminal codes. The earliest American legislation respecting crimes in Missouri, which was enacted in 1804, provided that persons guilty of forgery should be placed in the pillory for a period not exceeding three hours and that certain offenses committed by slaves should be punished by the lash, the number of stripes being determined by the nature of the offense.

Punishment by both the whipping post and the pillory was specified for an additional number of crimes in the more lengthy and severe criminal code of 1808, the provisions of which were made applicable to women as well as to men. Though in most instances in the application of the lash thirty-nine stripes was the maximum number for any offense, the law of 1808 provided that in the case of a second offense in altering or defacing the mark or brand of another person's horse, neat cattle or hog, the penalty should be sixty lashes "well laid on." In addition, any person found guilty of this offense was subjected to a fine of \$5.00 over and above the value of the animal and to a sentence of two hours in the pillory.

On January 24, 1816, by which time many lawless elements had entered the territory and lawlessness in many places was generally prevalent, the most severe law relating to the whipping post and the pillory ever drawn up in Missouri was enacted by the territorial legislature. By section one of this act, a maximum of two hundred and fifty

lashes, four hours in the pillory, a fine of not more than \$1,000, imprisonment not to exceed six months and deprivation of the civil rights of holding office, of serving as a witness, and of voting were designated as the punishment for persons convicted of counterfeiting. By section seven of this same act, the penalty for stealing a horse, mare, gelding, mule or ass was made "not more than two hundred stripes on his or her bare back well laid on," and in addition, payment of double the damage to the person injured, a fine not to exceed \$500 and disqualification for holding office, for voting and for giving evidence in any court of justice. Finally, by section sixteen of the act, the sheriff was required to take an oath "that the number of lashes which the offender shall have been sentenced to receive, will by him be openly and publicly, and well and truly laid on such offender's bare back, and that without favor or affection."

Not until 1825 was a law passed which provided for the substitution of imprisonment for whipping in the case of women.

The actual administration of justice by means of the whipping post and pillory was probably far less severe than the penalties fixed by the law would imply. One can scarcely believe that maximum sentences of two hundred and two hundred and fifty lashes were often, if ever, exacted. Yet evidence exists that the fulfillment of the law could be both cruel and barbarous as judged by modern standards. John F. Darby, in his *Recollections*, gives the following account of the flogging of a man sentenced to thirty-nine stripes for stealing a hog in Gasconade county:

The unfortunate culprit was taken out into the yard, about twenty or thirty feet from where the court was held, his shirt stripped off so as to expose his bare back, and his pantaloons held very tight, with his suspenders over his hips. His arms were made to hug around a hickory tree in the yard and his hands firmly tied fast. About two hundred spectators gathered in a circle around the parties and the women all came out from the kitchen to see the performance. The sheriff pulled off his coat, rolled up his sleeves and with all his might laid on the lashes with a cowhide whip. The blood was brought at almost every blow and during the performance several men counted aloud the number of strokes. This un-

seemly and barbarous performance seemed to be greatly relished by many persons in the crowd, who, no doubt, considered this as one of the proud triumphs of the advance of civilization in the state of Missouri.

Judge North Todd Gentry, in his *Bench and Bar of Boone County, Missouri*, tells of the whipping post which once stood at the southwest corner of the courthouse square in Columbia. In 1861, according to Mr. Gentry, twenty negro slaves were sentenced to ten lashes on the bare back at the Columbia whipping post. In another case, a negro named Tony was sentenced to thirty-nine stripes and when the punishment was administered, each stroke of the lash raised either a blister or drew blood.

The following account of the use of the pillory in Clay county is given by Judge Thorp:

They had the stocks fixed in a frame at the jail door; they took two planks, cut half the size of the hole in each plank at the edge where they came together, then put it on the neck, wrist or ankle; having them through the posts, they were keyed together so that they held a fellow about half bent and as fast as if he were in a vise, with his back exposed to the gaze of all that passed by . . . I saw an old man . . . who was taken up for being too boisterous while under the influence of whiskey, and using rather too vulgar language to suit the more modest of our people, and sentenced to one hour in the stocks. I shall never forget how degrading and humiliating it looked, and from that time until now I have been opposed to the stocks and the whipping post as punishment for petit offenses.

While the lengthy and detailed criminal code of 1825 retained the provisions for the use of the whipping post and pillory as punishment for a number of offenses, there is evidence that by this date public opinion was turning against such extreme penalties in the use of these punishments as had been provided for in the code of 1816. The maximum number of lashes in the new code of 1825 was thirty-nine stripes, while no period in the pillory was to exceed three hours. Judge Thorp, in recalling public sentiment against the whipping post and pillory in Clay county during the twenties, states that by this time men were disgusted with the whipping post and even refused to enforce the law. As evidence, he cites the action of a jury in a case where it was so evident that the prisoner had stolen a pig that the

case went to the jury without argument. Yet, because the law specified the penalty of whipping, six of the jury refused to consent that the man be whipped. The jury was "hung" for a week and was finally discharged.

The year 1826 marks the beginning of the end of the whipping post and the pillory in Missouri. In that year, part of the law of 1825, which provided punishment by the whipping post and pillory for persons convicted of setting up and keeping gambling devices, was abolished. Further changes in the law of 1825 were made in 1829 and 1833. Finally, on March 20, 1835, a new criminal code was approved which abolished the whipping post and pillory except for certain offenses committed by slaves. Imprisonment in the State penitentiary, which institution had been provided for by the law of 1833, was substituted for punishment in the case of offenses which had formerly been punishable by the whipping post and pillory.

Peter H. Burnett, a former Missourian and the first governor of California, tells how the practice of whipping gave rise to an amusing and once well-known saying in Missouri. A man who had been convicted of stealing a horse before the court of Daniel Boone had had inflicted upon him a sentence of thirty-nine stripes and was afterward asked by a friend how he had come out. Since at that time a sentence to the whipping post carried no stigma or loss of caste once it had been administered, the man cheerfully replied: "First rate. Whipped and cleared."

MISSOURI CHILLS AND FEVER IN CALIFORNIA

An amusing incident which no doubt influenced early emigration from Missouri to California is told by the California pioneer, John Bidwell, who emigrated to California from Independence, Missouri, in the spring of 1841. Prospective Missouri emigrants, according to Bidwell, who tells of the incident in his *Echoes of the Past* and in manuscripts now in the Bancroft Library in California, generally asked as their first question about California if it had "fever and ague." To Missouri interrogators this question was all-important since they were frequently the victims of the annual

"sickly season" which prevailed in Missouri during the months of July, August and September.

Antoine Robidoux, fur trader and one of Missouri's famous Robidoux brothers, was one to whom this question was put at Independence during the winter of 1840. His reply has since become a classic in the history of pioneer emigration to California. An enthusiastic California "booster"—it may have been that he was the state's first—Robidoux glowingly described California to his Missouri listeners as a land of "perfect paradise" and "perpetual spring," with the result that he greatly excited the interest of Bidwell and other Missourians.

The statement above all which stirred Robidoux's Missouri listeners, however, was his assertion of the complete absence of fever and ague in California. When asked by an interested and eager Missourian if there were any "chills and fevers" in California, Robidoux replied that there never had been but one man in California who had the chills and he was from Missouri and carried the disease in his system. It was such a curiosity to see a man with chills and fever in California, according to Robidoux, that the people of Monterey went eighteen miles in the country to see him shake! Robidoux's exceptional descriptive powers determined Bidwell, with others of Robidoux's listeners, to become members of an overland emigrant train which left Independence for California the following spring.

VIGNETTES OF MOUNTAIN MEN

No more vivid pictures have been painted of the life of the American fur trader in his Rocky Mountain haunts than those of the gallant young English officer, Lieutenant George A. F. Ruxton, in his *Life in the Far West*, which was first published by *Blackwood's Magazine* shortly before Ruxton's death in 1848. Ruxton, who was not yet twenty-eight years old when he died in St. Louis shortly after the fur trading expedition which was to become famous through his book, was a world-wide traveler of distinction and a vigorous and charming writer. Though written in novel form, *Life in the Far West* is based upon the author's own observations and actual par-

ticipation in the life of the fur trader. In its pages, Ruxton gives many intimate glimpses into the personal lives, manners speech, characteristics and customs of the trapper that are to be found nowhere else. In addition, the book portrays the dangers, privations and fascinations of the life of the hearty Mountain Men. Fortunately, the book, though out of print, may still be procured by collectors at a reasonable price ranging from \$2.00 to \$5.00. In addition, a reprint edited by Horace Kephart and entitled *In the Old West* was published in 1915 by the Nelson-Doubleday Company as volume one of the *Outing Adventure Library Series*.

The following descriptions taken from Ruxton are typical. The first is of the rendezvous—that favorite event and high spot in the life of the fur trader. At its annual conclave the trappers gathered from all parts of the Far West, traded their pelts, laid in their supplies, and, if the rendezvous was held in the fall, wintered until the opening of the spring trapping season. The particular rendezvous described by Ruxton is one which took place at Brown's Hole, one of the most famous spots in the history of the early fur trade, which was situated on Green River in the extreme northeastern corner of present-day Utah. An enclosed valley abounding in game and sheltered on every side by lofty mountains, it was a favorite meeting ground of the pioneers. Ruxton writes:

Singly and in bands numbering from two to ten, the trappers dropped into the rendezvous; some with many pack-loads of beaver, others with greater or less quantity, and more than one on foot, having lost his animals and peltry by Indian thieving. Here soon congregated many mountaineers, whose names are famous in the history of the Far West. Fitzpatrick and Hatcher, and old Bill Williams, well-known leader of trapping parties, soon arrived with their bands. Sublette came in with his men from Yellow Stone, and many of Wyeth's New Englanders were there. Chabonard with his half-breeds, Wah-keitchas all, brought his peltries from the lower country; and half a dozen Shawnee and Delaware Indians, with a Mexican from Taos . . . Here, too, arrived the "Bourgeois" traders of the "North-West" Company, with their superior equipment, ready to meet their trappers, and purchase the beaver at equitable value, and soon the trade opened, and the encampment assumed a busy appearance.

A curious assemblage did the rendezvous present, and representatives of many a land met there. A son of *la belle France* here lit his pipe from one proffered by a native of New Mexico. An Englishman and a Sand-

wich Islander cut a quid from the same plug of tobacco. A Swede and an "old Virginian" puffed together. A Shawnee blew a peaceful cloud with a scion of the "Six Nations." One from the Land of Cakes—a canny chiel—sought to "great round" (in trade) a right "smart" Yankee but couldn't "shine."

The beaver went briskly, six dollars being the price paid per lb. in goods—for money is seldom given in the mountain market, where "beaver" is cash, for which the articles supplied by the traders are bartered. In a very short time peltries of every description had changed hands, either by trade, or by gambling with cards and betting. With mountain-men, bets decide every question that is raised, even the most trivial . . .

Ruxton, describing a typical group of trappers gathered about a camp fire preparing the hunters' supper of buffalo "hump ribs" and "tender loin," makes one of them speak to his companions in the language spoken by these children of the Far West:

'Twas about 'calf time,' maybe a little later, and not a hundred year ago by a long chalk, that the biggest kind of rendezvous was held 'to' to Independence, a mighty handsome little location away up on old Missouri. A pretty smart lot of boys was camped thar, about a quarter from the town, and the way the whiskey flowed that time was 'some' now, I can tell you. Thar was old Sam Owins—him as got 'rubbed out' by the Spaniards at Sacramento, or Chihuahuy, this hos doesn't know which, but he 'went under' anyhow. Well, Sam had his train along, ready to hitch up for the Mexican country—twenty thunderin' big Pittsburg wagons; and the way *his* Santa Fé boys took in the liquor beat all—eh, Bill? . . .

Chavez had his waggons along. He was only a Spaniard anyhow, and some of his teamsters put a ball into him next trip, and made a raise of *his* dollars, wagh! Uncle Sam hung 'em for it, I heard, but can't believe it, nohow. If them Spaniards wasn't born for shootin', why was beaver made? You was with us that spree, Jemmy? . . .

Well, anyhow, thar was the camp, and they was goin' to put out the next morning; and the last as come out of Independence was that ar Englishman. He'd a nor-west capote on, and a two-shoot gun rifled. Well, them English are darned fools; . . . but that one did shoot 'some,' leastways *he* made it throw plum-center. He made the buffer "come," *he* did, and fout well at Pawnee Fork, too. What was his name? All the boys called him Cap'en, and he got his fixings from old Choteau; but what he wanted out thar in the mountains, I never jest rightly know'd. He was no trader, nor a trapper, and flung about his dollars right smart. There was old grit in him too, and a hair of the black b'ar at that . . .

Buffalo "hump ribs" and "tender loin," such as the group about the camp fire were cooking, were not always the fare of the mountain men. There were times of leanness as well as of fatness and the trapper took as philosophically the eating of parfleche (the soles of his moccasins) as he did the delicacy of beaver tails. Says Ruxton:

"Meat's meat," is a common saying in the mountains, and from the buffalo down to the rattlesnake, including every quadruped that runs, every fowl that flies, and every reptile that creeps, nothing comes amiss to the mountaineer. Throwing aside all the qualms and conscientious scruples of a fastidious stomach, it must be confessed that *dog-meat* takes a high rank in the wonderful variety of cuisine afforded to the gourmand and the gourmet by the prolific "mountains." Now, when the bill of fare offers such tempting viands as buffalo beef, venison, mountain mutton, turkey, grouse, wild-fowl, hares, rabbits, beaver and their tails, &c. &c., the station assigned to "dog" as No. 2 in the list can be well appreciated—No. 1, in delicacy of flavor, richness of meat, and other good qualities, being the flesh of *panthers*, which surpasses every other and all put together. "Painter meat can't shine to this," says a hunter, to express the delicious flavour of an extraordinary cut of "tender loin" or delicate fleece . . .

An interesting account of trading with the Indians, which differed from that of the trappers trading among themselves at the annual rendezvous, is the following description given by Ruxton of trading at Fort Laramie.¹

La Bonté started with his squaw for the North Fork [of the Platte] in early November, and arrived at the Laramie at the moment that the big village of the Sioux came up for their winter trade . . . The traders had a particular portion of the village allotted to them, and a line was marked out, which was strictly kept by the soldiers appointed for the protection of the whites. As there were many rival traders, and numerous *coureurs des bois*, or peddling ones, the market promised to be brisk, the more so as a large quantity of ardent spirits was in their possession, which would be dealt with no unsparing hand to put down the opposition of so many competing traders. . . . Having once tasted the pernicious liquid, there is no fear that they [the Indians] will quickly come to terms; and not infrequently the spirit is drugged, to render the unfortunate Indian more helpless. Sometimes maddened and infuriated by drink, they commit the most horrid atrocities on each other, murdering and mutilating in

¹This scene, if true, took place despite the fact that U. S. laws prohibited sale of liquor to the Indians. Ruxton's account, it is to be noted, disagrees with the assertion of most authorities that these laws were strictly enforced.

the most horrible manner, and often attempting the lives of the traders themselves. . . .

The principle on which the nefarious trade is conducted is this,—that the Indians, possessing a certain quantity of buffalo-robés, have to be cheated out of them, and the sooner the better. . . . When paying for the robes, the traders, in measuring out the liquid in a tin half-pint cup, thrust their thumbs or the four fingers of the hand into the measure, in order that it may contain less, or not infrequently fill the bottom with melted buffalo fat, with the same object. So greedy are the Indians that they never discover the cheat, and, once under the influence of the liquor, cannot distinguish between the first cup of comparatively strong spirit, and the following ones diluted five hundred percent, and poisonously drugged to boot.

Scenes of drunkenness, riot and bloodshed last until the trade is over. In winter it occupies several weeks, during which period the Indians present the appearance, under the demoralizing influence of the liquor, of demons rather than of men.

Periodically, after months of hardship in trapping in the mountains, many of the trappers went to St. Louis, the emporium of the fur trade, where, in debauched and riotous revelry, they squandered the savings of months or years, bought new supplies on credit, and started out again for the mountains. A famous meeting place of the early fur trading days in St. Louis was the "Rocky Mountain House" of which Ruxton gives a vivid picture:

.... the mountaineers . . . after several seasons spent in trapping and with a good store of dollars, arrive from the scenes of their adventures, wild as savages, determined to enjoy themselves, for a time, in the gaiety and dissipation of the western city. In one of the back streets of the town is a tavern well known as the "Rocky Mountain House;" and here the trappers resort, drinking and fighting as long as their money lasts, which as they are generous and lavish as Jack Tars, is for a few days only. Such scenes, both tragic and comic, as are enacted in the Rocky Mountain House, are beyond the powers of pen to describe; and when a fandango is in progress, to which congregate the coquettish belles from "Vide Poche", as the French portion of the suburb is nicknamed, the grotesque endeavors of the bear-like mountaineers to sport a figure on the light fantastic toe . . . are such startling innovations of the choreographic art as would make the shade of Gallini quake and gibber in his pumps.

Passing the open doors and windows of the Mountain House, the stranger stops short as the sound of violin and banjo twang upon his ears, accompanied by extraordinary noises—sounding unearthly to the greenhorn listener, but recognized by the initiated as an Indian song roared out of the stentorian lungs of a mountaineer . . .

Here, over fiery "monaghahela," Jean Batiste, the sallow half-breed voyageur from the north—and who, deserting the service of the "North-West," (the Hudson Bay Company), has come down the Mississippi, from the "Falls" to try the sweets and liberty of "free" trapping—hob-nobs with a stalwart leather-clad "boy", just returned from trapping on the waters of Grand River, on the western side the mountains, who inter-lards his mountain jargon with Spanish words picked up in Taos and California. In one corner a trapper, lean and gaunt from the starving regions of the Yellow Stone, has just recognized an old campanyero, with whom he hunted years before in the perilous country of the Blackfeet. . . .

Of the famous Mountain Men described by Ruxton, Kit Carson is termed by him the "paragon of mountaineers." Ruxton gives the following pen picture of Carson, written before he became as well known in the East as in the West as a result of his exploits with Fremont:

Small in stature, and slenderly limbed, but with muscles of wire, with a fair complexion and quiet, intelligent features, to look at Kit none would suppose that the mild-looking being before him was an incarnate devil in Indian fight, and had raised more hair from head of Redskins than any two men in the western country; and yet, thirty winters had scarcely painted a line or furrow on his clean-shaven face. No name, however, was better known in the mountains—from Yellow Stone to Spanish Peaks, from Missouri to Columbia River—than that of Kit Carson, "raised" in Boonlick country, county of Missouri State, and a credit to the diggings that gave him birth.²

The travels of the fur trader were far and wide. Distances meant nothing to him. From the headwaters of the Yellowstone he descended to South Pass on his way to rendezvous on Green river and to trap in the "Parks" of northern Colorado. From the upper reaches of the Rio Grande he followed the Spanish trail to California or better, to Santa Fe, where he reveled in the fandango or captured a Spanish wife. From Salt Lake he dared to swoop down from the mountains upon California where he terrorized the Spanish padres and made away with droves of their Spanish horses. Every hearty trapper could say, with Ruxton's Black Harris:

"A sight, marm, this coon's gone over, if that's the way your 'stick floats.' I've trapped beaver on Platte and Arkansa, and away up on Missouri and Yaller Stone; I've trapped on Columbia, on Lewis Fork, and

²Carson was not born in Missouri but in Madison county, Kentucky.

Green River; I've trapped, marm, on Grand River and Heely (Gila). I've foun the 'Blackfoot' (and d—d bad Injuns they are); I've 'raised the hair' of more *than one* Apach, and made a Rapaho 'come' afore now; I've trapped in heav'n and airth, and h—; and scalp my old head, marm, I've seen a putrified forest . . ."

"A putrified forest, marm, as sure as my rifle's got hind-sights, and *she* shoots center. I was out on Black Hills, Bill Sublette knows the time—the year it rained fire—and everybody knows when that was. If that wasn't cold doin's about that time, this child wouldn't say so. The snow was about fifty foot deep, and the bufler lay dead on the ground like bees after a beein'; not where we was tho' for *tha*s was no bufler, and no meat, and me and my band had been livin' on our mocassins (leastwise the par-flesh) for six weeks; and poor doins this feedin' is, marm, as you'll never know. . . ."

His life in the mountains with the trappers Ruxton characterized as the happiest days of his life; but let him speak in his own words, as he recalls his camping days in the Bayou Salade:

. . . . With a plentiful supply of dry pine-logs on the fire, and its cheerful blaze streaming far up into the sky, illuminating the valley far and near, and exhibiting the animals with well-filled bellies, standing contentedly at rest over their picket-fire, I would sit cross-legged, enjoying the genial warmth, and, pipe in mouth, watch the blue smoke as it curled upwards, building castles in its vapoury wreaths, and, in the fantastic shapes it assumed, peopling the solitude with figures of those far away. Scarcely, however, did I ever wish to change such hours of freedom for all the luxuries of civilised life; and unnatural and extraordinary as it may appear, yet such is the fascination of the life of the mountain hunter, that I believe not one instance could be adduced of even the most polished and civilised of men, who had once tasted the sweets of its attendant liberty, and freedom from every worldly care, not regretting the moment when he exchanged it for the monotonous life of the settlements, nor sighing and sighing again once more to partake of its pleasures and allurements. . . .

TOPICS IN MISSOURI HISTORY

Writers in recent years have attempted to dispel the so-called myth of Daniel Boone, the 202nd anniversary of whose birth occurred November 2, 1936. Notwithstanding, the famous frontiersman remains unshakably preeminent as the ideal concept of the pioneer American. Though stripped by modern historical criticism of the legends which have made him the first settler and founder of Kentucky, the trail blazer

of the Boon's Lick and Wilderness roads and the hero of a thousand mythical exploits, the man, Daniel Boone, has proved to be one of the most admirable heroes of American history. A great trail blazer, a great hunter, explorer, surveyor, Indian fighter, land pilot, guide and protector of wilderness settlers, it was for these qualities and for the personal traits of courage, integrity and nobility that a capricious fate summoned Daniel Boone to the pinnacle of world-wide greatness. His fame for these qualities and as a frontiersman, for which the pens of John Filson and Lord Byron were primarily responsible, is as justly deserved today as when Filson and Byron proclaimed it and is not to be confused with the later tradition—the Boone myth more properly speaking—which represents Boone as a maker of history. Historians in recent years have stated or implied a "Boone myth" by taking pains to show that Boone was neither the first explorer nor the first settler of Kentucky, whereas, as a matter of fact, these claims and other claims which historians have been painstaking in denying him, were never made for Boone by either Byron or Filson. The Boone myth, in reality, is therefore of the critical historians own making.

Many of the most romantic aspects of Boone's career center in Missouri. It was to Missouri that Boone turned to to find more "elbow room" after his failure to receive confirmation of his title to lands in Kentucky; it was in Missouri that he displayed qualities of true greatness by not becoming, as has been asserted of George Rogers Clark, a plotter and a misanthrope; it was to Missouri, during his serene old age, that noted travelers came to interview him and that Chester Harding came to paint his portrait. It was while he was in Missouri that state and national governments paid him tribute, and it was from Missouri that his remains were removed with ceremony to Kentucky. His name, in being given to the far-famed Boone's Lick trail and country, was perpetuated anew in Missouri in the deeds of his sons.

Few Americans have had more books written about them than Daniel Boone; yet, the definitive biography of Boone remains to be written. The mass of earlier works concerning him are largely fictitious and untrustworthy. Had Dr. Lyman Cope-

land Draper lived to write his monumental life of Boone, for which he spent a large part of his lifetime collecting the material, it would no doubt have constituted the greatest of all monuments to Boone. Among the Boone biographies of the twentieth century, that of Reuben Gold Thwaites, which has furnished the basis for virtually all biographies of Boone since its first publication in 1902, is based upon material in the Draper collection, but is little more than a condensation. All Boone biographies, that of Thwaites not excepted, have been written for the general reader; hence none of them are of great help to the serious student. The following bibliography is intended to be selective and representative.

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fame. The book was circulated widely in the United States and Europe. It ran through several editions in London and Paris and was extensively plagiarized and copied in the United States. Byron's famous lines on Boone (*Don Juan*, VIII, lxi-lxvii), and Daniel Bryan's fantastic epic poem "The Adventures of Daniel Boone," which was first published in 1813 as a part of the *Mountain Muse*, were at least partially inspired by Filson's work. The famous book itself possesses but minor value as historical material.

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Jillson, Willard Rouse, *The Boone Narrative. The Story of the Origin and Discovery Coupled With the Reproduction in Facsimile of a Rare Item of Early Kentuckiana . . .* (Louisville, 1932). Contains a facsimile reproduction of a 1786 plagiarized, condensed version of the *Boone Narrative* and an uncritical bibliography of 238 items.

Missouri Historical Review, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 (Oct., 1923), pp. 103-105. Contains a photograph and description of the Boone "Judgment Tree."

Missouri Historical Review, Vol. I, No. 4 (July, 1907), pp. 311-312. Contains a contemporary newspaper account of Boone which appeared in the *Missouri Intelligencer* in 1819 and which was written by a man who signed himself "Truth."

Peck, John Mason, *Lives of Daniel Boone and Benjamin Lincoln* (The Library of American Biography, edited by Jared Sparks, Vol. XIII, Boston, 1847). The best and the standard early biography of Boone. Peck not only critically examined his sources but had access to material in the possession of Lyman C. Draper.

Ranck, George W., *Boonesborough; Its Founding, Pioneer Struggles, Indian Experiences, Transylvania Days and Revolutionary Annals; With Full Historical Notes and Appendix* (Louisville, 1901. Filson Club Publications, No. 16). A scholarly monograph compiled from original sources. Contains numerous references to Boone.

Shoemaker, Floyd C., "Daniel Boone," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXI, No. 2 (January, 1927), pp. 208-214. An authoritative account stating the main facts of the life of Boone; also an appraisal of his career.

Spraker, Hazel Atterbury, *The Boone Family. A Genealogical History of the Descendants of George and Mary Boone Who Came to America in 1717 . . .* (Rutland, Vermont, 1922). The standard genealogy of the Boone family. Indispensable to the specialist. Pages 559-580 contain a biography of Boone with a brief bibliography of works consulted.

Thwaite, Reuben Gold, *Daniel Boone* (New York, 1911). Based upon material in the Draper manuscripts in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The standard life of Boone.

White, Stewart E., *Daniel Boone, Wilderness Scout* (New York, 1922). Though written for young people, this is one of the best of the modern biographies of Boone.

DO YOU KNOW OR DON'T YOU?

That the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was violated by the Platte Purchase of 1837? The six present-day north-western counties of Atchison, Holt, Nodaway, Platte, Buchanan and Andrew, which were added to Missouri as a result of the Platte Purchase, had been, under the Missouri Compromise, free territory.

That the first Olympic games in the United States were held in St. Louis in 1904? The games, which were the third series since their revival in 1896, were first awarded to Chicago, but later were given to St. Louis so that they might be staged in connection with the World's Fair. As the competitors were nearly all Americans the event had little international importance.

That Missouri's population of 3,629,367 in 1930 was about the same as the total population of 3,929,625 in the United States in 1790?

That St. Louis as late as 1812 was forty days from Washington, D. C., and sometimes more? By 1820, a traveller from St. Louis to Washington could make the trip in about three weeks.

That the first order of De Molay was founded in 1919 in Kansas City, Missouri? The organization consisted of a group of young men between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, and was fostered by the Scottish Rite in Kansas City. The group grew so rapidly that a special ritual, called the Order of De Molay, was created for it.

That the first United States secretary of agriculture, Norman J. Colman, was a Missourian? Colman was appointed United States commissioner of agriculture by President Cleveland in 1884. In 1889, when the office was made a cabinet position by virtue of the reorganization and expansion of the old agricultural bureau, Colman was appointed by Cleveland the first secretary of agriculture.

That Moses Austin, famous as the originator of the plan to colonize Texas, was once confined in a Missouri debtor's prison? This fact is known from an advertisement giving notice to his creditors which Austin, while in prison, had published in the St. Louis *Missouri Gazette* of March 22, 1820. Austin was financially ruined during the panic of 1819, having lost his fortune in the failure of the Bank of St. Louis in that year. It was probably the loss of his property during the panic that caused him to conceive the idea of colonizing Texas.

That of 516 earthquake land claim certificates issued by the United States government to victims of the New Madrid earthquake, only twenty were located by the original claimants? So prolific a source of corruption were these land claim certificates that most of them were granted on false oaths and 142 false claims were confirmed.

ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE PIONEER PRESS

ENCOURAGEMENT FOR LITTLE BOYS

We will give the highest price in cash for all good well stretched Rabbit skins as well as all other kinds of furs.

Clean lamb's wool or of second sheering will be purchased and a generous price given.

One or two apprentices will be taken by the subscriber to the Hatting business.

PRICE & SCHULL.

From the St. Louis *Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser*, December 31, 1814.

CHEAP FLOUR, &c.

BY THE STEAMBOAT INDEPENDENCE.¹

THE subscribers offer for sale, at *wholesale* or *retail*, ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY BARRELS excellent Superfine

FLOUR

received by the above arrival, which they will sell CHEAPER than can be had in Franklin.

They also have for sale, (received by the above arrival) a few barrels of excellent

WHISKEY.

They have on hand, and will keep constantly for sale,

SALT,

By *wholesale* or *retail*.

PATTEN & HOLLIDAY.

From the Franklin, *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*, June 4, 1819.

GREAT ATTRACTION

IN Independence

Great Britain may hatch the nest eggs set by the annexation of Texas, while her lords and nobles bluster about the Parliament—Mexico may declare war with the United States, while O'Connel waits to set Ireland

¹This advertisement heralds the epochal arrival of the first produce to be shipped into central Missouri by steamboat and the arrival of the first steamboat which navigated the Missouri. The *Independence* left St. Louis on May 13 and carried, besides a large number of passengers, a cargo of flour, whiskey, sugar, coffee, iron castings and other goods. An account of its arrival at Franklin on May 28, where it was welcomed "with the most lively emotions," appears in the same issue of the paper as the above advertisement. A large crowd of excited citizens assembled on the bank of the river and as the boat approached the landing it was greeted by a federal salute accompanied by the acclamations of the admiring crowd. The next day, Captain Nelson of the *Independence* and the boat's passengers were guests at a public dinner given by the citizens of Franklin. On June 5, the *Independence* returned to St. Louis where it took freight and passengers for Louisville.

free—and California to bring forth a new Republic, but nothing can stop the citizens of Jackson County and the Santa Feans from trading at the

CHEAP LOG CABIN STORE

on Main Street, Kept by W. F. Deweber.

Any quantity of all sorts of DRY GOODS, GROCERIES, HARDWARE, Nails, Boots and Shoes, Stationeries, Hasting's Emigrant's Guide to California, &c., of the best quality at the lowest price above St. Louis, and no mistake. All Goods, Wares, and Merchandise of every description on hand, must be sold by the first of September next. Come one, come all, while they are going cheap. No trouble to sell goods for cash when they are low.

Admission free—children half price at the cheap Log Cabin store on Main Street kept by

W. F. DEWEBER.²

From the Independence, Missouri, *Western Expositor*, May 24, 1845.

SMITHTON³

The trustees of Smithton wish immediately to contract for building a Double hewed LOG HOUSE, shingled roof, and stone chimneys, one story and a half high, in that town. Timber and stone are very convenient.

They will also contract for digging and walling a WELL. The improvements to be finished by the first of November next, when payment will be made.

Apply to the subscribers.

*Taylor Berry,
Richard Gentry,
David Todd,
Trustees.*

From the Franklin Missouri *Intelligencer* and Boon's *Lick Advertiser*, July 23, 1819.

²This advertisement, which makes strange reading, is typical of a vogue among newspaper advertisers of the period to center their advertisement, whether it was related or not, about some outstanding contemporary personage or event of the day. Another advertisement of the same period announces the arrival of Jenny Lind jewelry, while still another, in the fifties, opens with startling headlines stating that THE PLANK ROAD'S PROGRESSING and ends with the establishment of a new saddler's shop in Glasgow.

³Smithton, later Columbia, was the original county seat of Boone county. The town was one mile west of the present Columbia courthouse and was named in honor of Colonel Thomas A. Smith, Register of the U. S. Land Office at Franklin, and one of the proprietors of the townsite. The county seat was moved from Smithton to Columbia in 1821 on account of the failure to find water in Smithton. The town was laid out May 21, 1821, by the Smithton Company, the same company which had laid out the original town of Smithton.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS**128 NEW MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY**

June-November, 1936

During the six months from June, 1936, to November, 1936, inclusive, 128 applications for membership were received by the Society.

The 128 new members are:

- Aiken, Frank W., Moberly
Alexander, Wm. C., Salida, Colo.
Allebach, Frederic, Jefferson City
Allen, Wm. H., St. Louis
Anderson, C. Arthur, Lemay
Barrett, Mrs. J. M., Napton
Barron, W. Harry, Fredericktown
Baysinger, Helen, Rolla
Beilman, Francis J., St. Louis
Bergfeld, Ruby, O'Fallon
Bishop, Erma R., St. Louis
Blackwell, Lucy, St. Charles
Bradford, Priscilla, Monett
Brink, Marie, Weldon Springs
Brockman, Phil H., St. Louis
Brown, C. W., Jefferson City
Burke, Russell, Jefferson City
Calkin, Howard E., Mexico
Carthage High School Library, Carthage
Chambliss, H. D., Jefferson City
Cochran, John J., Washington, D. C.
Cole, Mrs. Charlie Tidd, Columbia
Colwell, A. Lulu, St. Louis
Conley, Dudley S., Columbia
Craighead, Edmonia E., St. Charles
Delany, Mrs. J. O. F., St. Louis
Dent, Alice, Salem
Desloge, Firmin V., St. Louis
Dexter Public Schools, Dexter
Douglass, Shannon, Jr., Kansas City
Dysart, Thos. N., St. Louis
Fox, Gerald H., Macon
Frances Howell High School, Hamburg
Furnall, David E., Cape Girardeau
Gathman, Loyd, Lamar
Guhlman, Erna, Wentzville
Guinn, W. F., Hawk Point
Hannah Jack Chapter, D. A. R., California
Harding, Edward W., Kansas City
Harris, Mrs. E. K., St. Charles
Hashinger, Edward H., Kansas City
Hoffman, Ruby, St. Charles
Hoh, Frank J., St. Charles
Hollingsworth, W. E., Sikeston
Horstman, T. C., Gladden
Hoskins, Jesse W., St. Louis
Hosman, Eva, Palmyra
Hubbard, Allen V., Chaffee
Hunnis, Arthur H., St. Louis
Iffrig, Genevieve, St. Peters
Jackson, O. V., Rolla
Janesko, Ruth Keene, West Alton
Johnson, Leila, Jefferson City
Jones, Robert McK., St. Louis
Kallenbach, Stella, Warrensburg
Karsten, G. W., St. Charles
Keith, E. E., Jefferson City
Kingsbury, L. A., New Franklin
Kleine, Henry, Jr., Slater
Knippenberg, Elsie, St. Peters
Koster, Osie, St. Charles
Lang, Howard B., Jr., Columbia

- Leach, R. P., St. James
 Lloyd, S. H., Jr., Rolla
 Longmire, John R., Webster Groves
 Love, Edward K., St. Louis
 Lyons, Charles, Lexington
 McClain, Raymond G., Columbia
 McElhiney, Lorine, New Melle
 McLaughlin, Philip, Sedalia
 McMahan, Percy B., Boonville
 Mades, Fay, Hamburg
 Mergenthal, Lucille, Hamburg
 Meyer, Lucile, St. Charles
 Mitchell, M. L., St. Louis
 Moberly, O. H., Jefferson City
 Moore, Joe L., Cape Girardeau
 Moore, L. F., Laclede
 Murphy, F. E., Jefferson City
 Nicholson, Elizabeth, West Alton
 Oliver, Robert Burett, Jr., Cape Girardeau
 Peterson, Charles E., St. Louis
 Phillips, Wayne, Palmyra
 Pigg, E. L., Jefferson City
 Preuss, Mrs. O. C., Rolla
 Price, Hazel, Glasgow
 Pugh, Ruth, Laddonia
 Ranney, Hathorne, Commerce
 Ravenwood, Bd. of Ed., Ravenwood
 Robertson, George A. S., Jefferson City
 Sander, Lucille E., St. Charles
 Sawyers, Wm. Orr, Jefferson City
 Schemmer, Corine, Foristell
 Schierbaum, Ella, Foristell
 Schrader, Willa B., Cleveland, Ohio
 Schrenk, Dr. W. T., Rolla
 Schuttler, Mrs. Charles, Jefferson City
 Scott, C. C., Sikeston
 Settle, Raymond W., Lamar, Colo.
 Sister Mary Alphone, Flinthill
 Sister Mary Clare, Wentzville
 Sister Mary Felicia, Wentzville
 Sister Olga, O'Fallon
 Sneed, Geo. W., University City
 Star of the Prairie School, O'Fallon
 Studer, Helen, St. Charles
 Sullivan, John Jerome, Osceola
 Sweeney, Mrs. W. R., Salisbury
 Templeton, W. E., Excelsior Springs
 Treiman, Israel, St. Louis
 Trickett, Dean, Tulsa, Okla.
 Trout, Paul, Advance
 Tyler, Mrs. R. L., Defiance
 Van Burkles, Tottie M., St. Charles
 Van Ravenswaay, Charles, Boonville
 Vollmar, Jos. E., St. Louis
 Waldeck, Mrs. Ruby, Kirkwood
 Weber, Barbara Jane, St. Charles
 Weber, Edward, Dexter
 Westenkuehler, Ladene, West Alton
 Wilcox, Andy W., Jefferson City
 Williams, George H., St. Louis
 Willson, Chloe Neal, Augusta
 Wilson, Ruth M., Portage des Sioux
 Wonson, S. L., St. Louis
 Wood, Charles H., West Plains
 Yancey, John W., Dallas, Texas
 Young, Mrs. Nellie L., Stockton, Calif.

HARRIS B. DICKEY OBTAINS NEW MEMBERS

Harris B. Dickey, assistant project engineer of the Missouri State Highway Department, has obtained eight new members for the Society during 1936. The eight new members are: A. C. King, Cassville; Lloyd S. Roberts, Rocheport; H. D. Chambliss, Jefferson City; T. C. Horstmann, Gladden; Jesse W. Hoskins, St. Louis; Allen V. Hubbard, Chaffee; Raymond G. McClain, Columbia; John Jerome Sullivan, Osceola.

MARK TWAIN'S BIRTHDAY COMMEMORATED AT HANNIBAL

The 101st anniversary of Mark Twain's birth was observed on November 30, 1936, by the presentation to the city of Hannibal by the Chamber of Commerce of the building next to Mark Twain's boyhood home, purchased recently through popular subscription and intended for use as a Mark Twain museum. The deed to the building was presented by David S. Griffith, president of the Chamber of Commerce, to Mayor Sinclair Mainland immediately preceding a luncheon held in the humorist's boyhood home by the Mark Twain Commission. The Mark Twain luncheon is hereafter to be an annual event. Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society, was the guest of honor at the luncheon. The others present were: George A. Mahan, president of the State Historical Society; David S. Griffith; Morris Anderson, chairman of the Municipal Board of Control of Mark Twain Properties; Judge B. E. Bigger, vice-president of the Mark Twain Commission; and H. E. Swigert, winner of the 1936 international essay prize of the Mark Twain Association of New York. A Mark Twain dinner was held in the Mark Twain Hotel on the evening of November 30. It is planned to make this dinner also a part of Hannibal's annual observance of Clemens' birthday.—From the Hannibal *Courier-Post*, November 30 and December 1, 1936.

OUTSTANDING DONATIONS

The Society has recently received from R. E. Culver of St. Joseph a copy of the reminiscences written by James Bumgardner, Jr., who was born at Fayette on February 18, 1835. He was the son of Lewis Bumgardner and was a cousin and close friend of James H. Birch, son of James H. Birch, editor, lawyer, and judge. The reminiscences contain interesting information on Clinton county and on the family of Judge Birch.

Justus R. Moll of Springfield and Jefferson City has donated to the State Historical Society a copy of a letter, dated November 5, 1806, from Antoine Soulard to the Board

of Commissioners of the United States for the examination of land titles in the Territory of Louisiana. The letter, the original of which is in Mr. Moll's collection, deals with the books containing the plats of the surveys made by Antoine Soulard when he was surveyor of Upper Louisiana.

The Society has received from the Honorable Ben L. Emmons of St. Charles eleven manuscripts dating from 1821 to 1854. These interesting papers include a power of deputy given Benjamin Emmons, Jr., by Andrew King on April 11, 1846, a petition by Levi Block of St. Charles containing the names of many business men in St. Charles in 1848, a list of licenses granted in St. Charles in 1849, and a receipt for railroad taxes for the year 1854.

George W. Bailey of Brookfield, Missouri, has given the State Historical Society two pictures of a pen-and-ink drawing of an old tavern north of Bucklin, which was built of hewed logs by his grandparents, Lucinda Lee and Preston Forrest. The public road ran between the two parts of the tavern; boards made from native timber connected the two parts of the building and covered the road.

MISSOURIANS ABROAD—CARL E. BAILEY

Carl E. Bailey, governor-elect of Arkansas, was born at Bernie, Missouri, forty-two years ago. At an early age he moved with his parents to Campbell, Missouri. He attended the Campbell public schools, later taking a business course at Chillicothe. On his return to Campbell he was made a deputy county tax assessor. In the meantime he studied law under W. E. Glenn. In 1917 he went to Arkansas and in 1922 was appointed assistant to the prosecuting attorney of Woodruff county. He was connected with the Arkansas Cotton Growers' Co-operative Association, and later became identified with the Arkansas state agricultural department. In 1934 he was elected attorney general of Arkansas, and on November 3, 1936, he was elected governor of the state. His mother, Mrs. Margaret McCorkle Bailey, and his brother, Marvin R. Bailey, still live at Campbell.

CORRECTIONS

In the issue of the *Missouri Historical Review* for April, 1936 (pages 292-293) it is said that ". . . Bridgeton in St. Louis county is thought to be the only town in the United States that still has its commons."

In the July issue of the *Review* a correction of this item was printed in which it was pointed out by Mr. Ben L. Emmons of St. Charles that the city of St. Charles, Missouri, still owns about one-half of its original commons.

Information on the commons of the city of New Castle, Delaware, has recently been received from Miss Anna T. Lincoln, librarian of the Historical Society of Delaware. New Castle has owned commons since its establishment and the city still owns and derives an income from these lands.

Mr. R. R. Calkins of St. Joseph wishes to correct certain errors in the data he submitted for the sketch of his father, Ripley R. Calkins, which appeared in the October issue of the *Review* (pp. 81-82). According to recent information received by Mr. Calkins, his father was born at Saratoga Springs, New York, instead of at Avoca, as is stated in the sketch. He was married at Avoca in March, 1866, to Elizabeth Martin.

In an article entitled "The Confines of a Wilderness," by John Francis McDermott, which appeared in the *Missouri Historical Review* for October, 1934 (Vol. XXIX, No. 1), the citation in footnote number 2, on page 3, should read Chapter XIV, not Chapter VI.

Professor John Francis McDermott of Washington University, St. Louis, has called attention to an error in the *Review* for October, 1936. On page 77, in a footnote beginning on the previous page, the statement is made that Dr. Bernard Gaines Farrar fought a duel with Dr. James Graham. Graham was a lawyer, not a physician.

ANNIVERSARIES

The 119th anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church at University City will be celebrated on November 15, 1936. Dr. Salmon Giddings was the first pastor of the church, which was organized on November 15, 1817.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, November 14, 1936.

The 117th anniversary of Christ Church at St. Louis was commemorated on November 1, 1936. The church, which is said to be the first of the Episcopal faith west of the Mississippi river, was founded in 1819.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, November 2, 1936.

The 105th anniversary of the Troy Presbyterian Church will be observed on November 22, 1936.—From the *Troy Free Press*, November 20, 1936.

The 103rd anniversary of the founding of Sarcoxie was celebrated on September 18 and 19, 1936.—From the *Sarcoxie Record*, September 24, 1936.

The International Mark Twain Society held its annual banquet at St. Louis on November 30, 1936, in commemoration of the 101st anniversary of the birth of Mark Twain.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 1, 1936.

The 100th anniversary of the Westport Methodist Episcopal Church at Kansas City will be celebrated from October 18 to October 23, 1936. A pageant of the history of the church will be given on October 28.—From the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, October 15, 1936, and the *Kansas City Star*, October 16, 1936.

The 100th anniversary of St. Mary's Episcopal Church at Fayette occurred on November 10, 1936. A history of the church appears in the *Fayette Advertiser* of November 10, 1936.

The 100th anniversary of the First Christian Church at Lexington will be celebrated on October 25, 1936. The church was organized on April 17, 1836.—From the Lexington *Advertiser-News*, October 24, 1936.

The 100th anniversary of the Salt River Christian Church near New London will be celebrated on October 18, 1936. From the New London *Ralls County Record*, October 16, 1936.

The 100th anniversary of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Versailles was celebrated on November 1, 1936.—From the Versailles *Statesman*, November 5, 1936, and the Versailles *Leader*, October 30 and November 6, 1936.

The 100th anniversary of the Methodist Church at Brunswick was celebrated on September 20, 1936.—From the Brunswick *Brunswicker*, October 2, 1936.

The 90th anniversary of St. John's Methodist Episcopal Church at Marshfield will be celebrated from October 25 to November 1, 1936.—From the Marshfield *Mail*, October 22, 1936.

The 80th anniversary of the Missouri State Teachers Association occurs this year.—From the Kirksville *Daily Express*, October 13, 1936.

The 73rd anniversary of the Second Baptist Church (negro) at Kansas City will be celebrated on October 11, 1936.—From the Kansas City *Star*, October 10, 1936.

The 68th anniversary of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Civil Bend, Missouri, was celebrated on August 30, 1936.—From the St. Joseph *News-Press*, September 1, 1936.

The 65th anniversary of the Presbyterian Church at Sarcoxie was commemorated on November 1, 1936.—From the Sarcoxie *Record*, November 5, 1936.

The 60th anniversary of the erection of the Fairport Methodist Episcopal Church will be observed on September 20, 1936.—From the St. Joseph *News-Press*, September 20, 1936.

The 60th anniversary of East Grand Boulevard Presbyterian Church at St. Louis will be celebrated from November 15 to November 20, 1936.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, November 14, 1936.

The 50th anniversary of the founding of the Holy Name Catholic Church at Kansas City will be celebrated on October 25, 26, and 27, 1936.—From the Kansas City *Star*, October 21, 1936, and the Kansas City *Journal-Post*, October 22, 1936.

The 50th anniversary of the Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church at St. Joseph will be observed on September 10, 1936.—From the St. Joseph *News-Press*, August 30, 1936.

The 50th anniversary of Bethel Church near Garden City will be celebrated on November 7 and 8, 1936.—From the Harrisonville *Cass County Democrat*, November 5, 1936.

The 50th anniversary of the Church of Our Holy Redeemer at Webster Groves will be celebrated on October 23, 24, and 25, 1936.—From the St. Louis *Star-Times*, October 13, 1936.

The 50th anniversary of Temple Israel at St. Louis will be celebrated on October 9 and 10, 1936.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, October 9, 1936, and the St. Louis *Star-Times*, October 10, 1936.

The 50th anniversary celebration of the St. Louis Ethical Society and the annual meeting of the American Ethical Union will be held from November 27 to November 29, 1936.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, November 27, 1936.

The 30th anniversary of Grace Presbyterian Church at Kansas City will be celebrated during the entire month of November, 1936.—From the *Kansas City Star*, October 31, 1936, and the *Kansas City Times*, November 2, 1936.

The 30th anniversary of the Overland Presbyterian Church at St. Louis will be observed on September 27, 1936.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, September 26, 1936.

The 30th anniversary of Samuel Evangelical Church at Clayton will be celebrated from September 13 to September 20, 1936.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, September 12, 1936.

MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

The \$1,000,000 Soldiers' Memorial Building at St. Louis, now in process of construction, was dedicated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on October 14, 1936.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, October 14, 1936, the *St. Louis Star-Times*, October 14, 1936, and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 15, 1936.

A memorial tablet to Mrs. Mary McAfee Atkins, who was born on October 22, 1836, will be unveiled and dedicated in Atkins auditorium in the east wing of the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Atkins Museum on October 22, 1936. The Atkins Museum of Fine Arts was given to Kansas City in 1911 by Mrs. Atkins.—From the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, October 21, 1936, the *Kansas City Star*, October 21, 1936, and the *Kansas City Times*, October 22, 1936.

The Mark Twain Memorial Foundation announced from New York on November 30, 1936, that a huge bronze head of Mark Twain, done by Walter Russell, American sculptor, had been accepted by the British government and the city council of London and would be unveiled on the banks of the Thames at the time of the coronation.

Markers at the graves of two Revolutionary war soldiers—the grave of Samuel Conway near Mt. Zion and that of James Bates near Palmyra—were dedicated by the Polly Carroll Chapter of the D. A. R., on November 21, 1936. E. C. Bohon, superintendent of Marion county schools, delivered the dedicatory addresses.—From the *Palmyra Marion County Standard*, November 18, 1936, the *Palmyra Spectator*, November 18, 1936, and the *Hannibal Courier Post*, November 23, 1936.

A memorial to Major William J. Bland, one of Kansas City's World war heroes, will be dedicated at Kansas City on November 7, 1936, by the William J. Bland Post No. 50 of the American Legion. The memorial is a granite boulder bearing a bronze plaque. Major Bland was killed in action on September 12, 1918, during the St. Mihiel offensive in France.—From the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, November 1, 1936, and the *Kansas City Star*, November 1, 1936.

A marker at the grave of Mrs. Theodosia Thornton Lawson in Fairview cemetery at Liberty was dedicated on October 2, 1936, by the St. Joseph Chapter of the D. A. R., assisted by the Alexander Doniphan Chapter of Liberty.—From the *Liberty Chronicle*, September 24, 1936, the *Liberty Tribune*, September 24, 1936, and the *Liberty Advance*, October 5, 1936.

Through the efforts of Mrs. Charles Channing Allen of Excelsior Springs and the co-operation of the Excelsior Springs Chamber of Commerce and the Excelsior Springs *Daily Standard*, a bronze tablet mounted upon a two-ton block of native stone was dedicated on October 1, 1936, at Excelsior Springs as a memorial to commemorate the skirmish that took place at Fredericksburg, Missouri, on August 12, 1864.—From the *Excelsior Springs Daily Standard*, September 28, October 1, and October 2, 1936.

A bronze tablet will be placed on the Johnson county courthouse at Warrensburg by the George Frederick Burck-

hartt Chapter of the Daughters of 1812 in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Johnson county. The county court and the Warrensburg city council will pay for the tablet and the Warrensburg Chamber of Commerce will pay other expenses in connection with the erection of the tablet. The tablet is to be unveiled on December 13, 1936.—From the Warrensburg *Star-Journal*, November 10, and November 17, 1936.

The Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Room in the Municipal Swimming Pool building at Fayette was dedicated on November 11, 1936, to the memory of Howard county men who died in the World war. The room, with a bronze tablet at one end, was dedicated by the Howard County Chapter of the D. A. R. and the Roger White Post of the American Legion.—From the Fayette *Democrat-Leader*, November 13, 1936.

The alumnae association of the Lutheran Hospital School of Nursing dedicated a bronze plaque on September 6, 1936, as a memorial to Mrs. Louise Krauss Ament, who founded the Lutheran Hospital School of Nursing at St. Louis in 1898.

The interior of Grace Episcopal Church at Jefferson City has been beautified as a memorial to Major and Mrs. Thomas Oliver Towles. The memorial, a gift of the late Ephraim Towles, son of Major and Mrs. Towles, will be dedicated on October 11, 1936.—From the Jefferson City *Sunday News and Tribune*, October 11, 1936.

NOTES

The late Dr. Walter Williams, former president of the University of Missouri and founder of the School of Journalism, was honored on November 13, 1936, by the addition of his name to the Illinois Hall of Journalism Fame at Champaign, Illinois. A bust of Dr. Williams will be placed in the hall.—From the *Columbia Missourian*, November 13, 1936.

The Mark Twain Memorial bridge across the Mississippi river at Hannibal was dedicated on September 4, 1936, by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The bridge will be an important link in the Illinois-Missouri units of U. S. Highway 36.—From the Hannibal *Courier-Post*, September 4, 1936.

The new Wabash bridge over the Missouri river at St. Charles, which replaces the historic Wabash bridge that was started in 1868 and completed in 1871, was dedicated on October 29, 1936. A history of the North Missouri Railway Company (now the Wabash Railroad), given by Ben L. Emmons in an interview, appears in the St. Charles *Cosmos-Monitor* of October 30, 1936.

The new buildings of the University of Missouri were formally dedicated at Columbia on November 21, 1936. The buildings dedicated are: The Practice School Building, the Student Health Center, the Engineering Laboratories, the Conservation Laboratory, Walter Williams Hall, the addition to the Library Building, and the recently completed wing of the Home Economics Building.

General Malin Craig, chief of staff of the United States army, was decorated by Governor Guy B. Park with the distinguished service medal of the State of Missouri on November 18, 1936, at Kansas City. General Craig is a native of Missouri.—From the Kansas City *Times*, November 19, 1936.

Dr. John R. Kirk of Kirksville, William T. Carrington of Jefferson City, and Miss Pauline Rader of Niangua were awarded medals for distinguished service to Missouri education by the Missouri State Teachers Association at a meeting of the association held at Kansas City from November 11 to November 14, 1936.—From the Kansas City *Times*, November 13, 1936.

Tom K. Smith, president of the Boatmen's National Bank of St. Louis, was elected president of the American Bankers' Association on September 23, 1936.

The pedestal for the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor was obtained through the efforts of John R. Reavis, a native of Cooper County, Missouri. Reavis persuaded Joseph Pulitzer to undertake the task of raising the \$300,000 needed to construct a base for the statue.—From the *Kansas City Star*, October 25, 1936.

A portrait by Bingham of Mrs. Charles Henry Hardin, wife of the twenty-second governor of Missouri, has been presented to Mrs. Guy B. Park for the Governor's Mansion at Jefferson City by Mrs. William D. Mason and C. B. Kennan, niece and nephew of Mrs. Hardin.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, November 24, 1936, and the *Jefferson City Daily Capital News*, November 25, 1936.

Mrs. Anna F. Backer, who contributed \$500,000 for the construction of St. Louis University High School, died at St. Louis on September 21, 1936, at the age of seventy-eight.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 23, 1936.

Miss Lucia Lee Bates, granddaughter of the second governor of Missouri, Frederick Bates, died at Ironton, Missouri, on September 2, 1936, at the age of seventy.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, September 3, 1936.

The historic theater at Boonville, which was dedicated as Thespian Hall on July 4, 1857, may be razed. Thespian Hall is one of the oldest theater buildings in the Mississippi valley. A movement for the preservation of the building has been started by a number of Boonville citizens and interest in the old theater is also being displayed by persons in many other parts of the state.—From the *Boonville Advertiser*, October 2, 1936, the *Boonville Daily News*, October 3, and 13, 1936, and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 3, 1936.

The Westminster chime and clock recently installed in the Memorial Tower on the campus of the University of Missouri at Columbia was dedicated on November 26, 1936.

Charles Baird, a retired banker of Kansas City and chairman of the University Board of Visitors, is the donor of the chime and clock.—From the Columbia *Missourian*, November 26, 1936, and the Columbia *Daily Tribune*, November 26, 1936.

The major episodes in the history of Kansas City will be depicted in the great frieze around the new city hall. Pictures of several of the panels, which are to be carved in stone, are reproduced in the Kansas City *Journal-Post* of November 15, 1936.

The Clay County Missouri Historical Society is sponsoring its second annual essay contest in which the elementary and high school students of Clay county will compete for cash prizes to be awarded in March, 1937. The purpose of the contest is to awaken in the school children a consciousness of the historic background of their county and to further interest in the county historical society—From the Liberty *Chronicle*, November 5, 1936, and the Liberty *Tribune*, November 12, 1936.

A report of the committee on legal biography of the Missouri Bar Association, of which committee Judge North Todd Gentry is chairman, appears in the November, 1936, issue of the *Missouri Bar Journal*, published at Kansas City. The report covers the period from September 22, 1935, to October 1, 1936, and contains biographical sketches of the eighty-six members of the Missouri bar who died during that time.

A celebration in honor of Dr. John Phelps Fruit's eighty-first birthday was held at William Jewell College at Liberty from November 17 to November 22, 1936. Dr. Fruit has been head of the English department of William Jewell College for thirty-eight years. During the celebration the holograph collection of Louis Mertins, the California poet who received his early inspiration from Dr. Fruit, was presented to the college.—From the Liberty *Chronicle*, November 12, 1936, the Liberty *Tribune*, November 19, 1936, and the Liberty *Advance*, November 23, 1936.

One of the outstanding features of the centennial celebration held at Clinton, Missouri, on September 17, 18 and 19, 1936, was an historical pageant sponsored by the Udolpha Miller Dorman Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The pageant, written by A. Loyd Collins and Miss Udolpha Phillips, assisted by Miss Aletrice Rutherford, was presented in fifteen episodes and required a cast of more than six hundred persons. Much of the historical material collected by Mr. Collins for the centennial pageant will be used in his *History of Henry County*, to be published in 1937.

Clark County celebrated its centennial at Kahoka on October 6, 1936. One of the features of the celebration was a parade, in which appeared the old Jordan stage coach, used as late as 1867 between Alexandria and Bloomfield.—From the Kahoka *Clark County Courier*, October 9, 1936, and the Kahoka *Gazette-Herald*, October 9, 1936.

An interesting account of St. Louis' observance of Navy Day appeared in the St. Louis *Star-Times* of October 28, 1936. Tribute to Missouri's naval heroes of the Spanish-American war was paid in a special program over Radio Station KMOX, prepared through the co-operation of Jacob Kuhl, native St. Louisan and a member of Admiral Dewey's crew on the flagship, *U. S. S. Olympia*.

The names of two Missourians, both heroes, will be recalled on November 10, 1936, when the anniversary of the United States Marine Corps, which was founded in 1775, will be celebrated. The two Missourians are Major Herman H. Hanneken and the late Sergeant Major John H. Quick.—From the Kansas City *Journal-Post*, November 1, 1936.

At the organization of the Missouri Safe Deposit Association at Columbia on November 7, 1936, a short address on the State Historical Society was made by Floyd C. Shoemaker. The officers of the Missouri Safe Deposit Association are: President, Julien Janis of St. Louis; vice-president, W. H.

Potts of Kansas City; secretary, E. F. Ruether of Columbia; treasurer, August Roeder of St. Louis.

John H. Bender of Kansas City, who is an art dealer and collector and has been editing a rare little booklet entitled *Fine Prints*, has purchased the *Print Collector's Quarterly* from J. M. Dent and Sons of London, England. The transference of the editorial headquarters of the *Quarterly* to Kansas City reflects the growing interest in Kansas City in etchings and other types of prints, with which development John Bender and Alfred Fowler, the new editor of the *Print Collector's Quarterly*, have been associated.—From the Kansas City *Star*, November 11, 1936.

The first issue of the *Mark Twain Quarterly* (Vol. I, No. 1), has been published by the International Mark Twain Society at St. Louis, under date of September, 1936. Although the quarterly will be devoted chiefly to articles pertaining to the life and writings of Mark Twain, articles on other subjects will also appear in the magazine.

An interesting biographical article on Lloyd Crow Stark governor-elect of Missouri, appears in the Kansas City *Star* of November 8, 1936.

An article entitled "Quietly and Without Fanfare the State Historical Society Goes About its Work," written by Samuel J. Smith, appears in the Kansas City *Star* of November 14, 1936.

A description of the old Virginia House at Paris and amusing stories on Mark Twain by T. V. Bodine appear in the "I Remember" columns of the Paris *Mercury* of November 20, 1936.

An article entitled "Recently Found Diary Gives Vivid Picture of Early Independence, Mo." appears in the Kansas City *Star* of October 15, 1936. The diary belonged to George Buchanan, a Virginian who came to Independence in 1838.

An article entitled "Missouri Had a Pioneer Governor in Lilburn W. Boggs a Century Ago" appears in the Kansas City *Times* of August 25, 1936. Boggs served as governor of Missouri from 1836 to 1840.

In an article appearing in the Boonville *Daily News* of September 12, 1936, and the Boonville *Advertiser* of September 18, 1936, A. M. Koontz tells of conditions in Boonville before the Civil war. An old photograph accompanies the article.

An article on Missouri Day appears in the Kansas City *Times* of October 5, 1936.

The Kansas City *Star* of September 29, 1936, contains a valuable historical article entitled "Forgotten Indian Woman Tracked Oregon Trails With the Astorians." According to the records of St. Paul's Church at St. Louis, Oregon, Madame Dorion, the only woman member of the Wilson Price Hunt Expedition of 1811, is buried beneath the church.

An article entitled "Astorians the First White Men to Spy Out the Future Oregon Trail" appears in the Kansas City *Star* of August 27, 1936. The article relates to the two Astor expeditions to Astoria in 1810.

The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of October 28, 1936, contains an article by Dorothy Coleman entitled "When Natives of the Missouri Ozarks Hold Their Folk School." The school was held from October 16 to October 26, 1936, in the Shannondale Community House, between Salem and Eminence, and was attended by many Ozark families. It is the only folk school known to exist in Missouri.

An article written in 1915 by John Gilhousen on the stage coach built in Palmyra in 1840 for Garette Jordan appears in the Kahoka *Clark County Courier* of October 23, 1936. The stage coach was christened "Des Moines Mail Coach."

A chronology of some outstanding events in the early history of Clark county, compiled by Miss Letitia Neeper, appears in the Kahoka *Clark County Courier* of October 2, 1936.

A short article on the first county seat of Clark county appears in the Kahoka *Gazette-Herald* of October 2, 1936.

The Kahoka *Gazette-Herald* of September 25, 1936, contains a history of Clark County.

The Plattsburg *Clinton County Democrat* and the Plattsburg *Leader* of August 21, 1936, contain supplements in commemoration of the old settlers reunion to be held in Plattsburg on August 26 and 27, 1936. Each of the supplements contains a valuable history of Clinton county.

The Clinton *Eye* issued a special centennial edition on September 17, 1936, in observance of the 100th anniversary of Clinton, which was celebrated on September 17, 18, and 19, 1936. The edition contains valuable historical sketches of Henry county, of Clinton, and of its churches, schools, and other organizations, institutions, and industries; lists of Henry county soldiers and of outstanding persons who have lived in Clinton; stories of pioneers and early days; and a history of the Clinton *Eye*, which was founded on November 14, 1885.

An article by George E. Mattingly entitled "Native Missouri" appears in the August, 1936, issue of the *Missouri Magazine*. The article is devoted principally to the flora and fauna of Missouri.

The Jefferson City *Missouri Farm Bureau News* of October 2, 1936, contains an article entitled "The Early History of Butler County," from *A History of Butler County* by D. B. Deem.

Brief historical notes and paragraphs containing interesting facts about the history of Missouri, compiled by Adella

B. Moore, appear in the Potosi *Washington County News* of November 13, 1936, under the heading "Romance of Fact."

An editorial entitled "The Columns' to Remain" appears in the Kansas City *Times* of November 27, 1936. "The Columns" on the Francis Quadrangle at the University of Missouri are the remnant of the original administration building, which burned in 1892.

The Jefferson City *Missouri Magazine* for October, 1936, contains an article by Marian Pickens on the Sycamore Church at Garber, which was built of sycamore logs in 1933 and 1934; a description by Donald Elwood of a natural tunnel located two miles south of Saint James, Missouri; an article on the making of sorghum molasses, which is an important rural industry in Missouri; and an account of a visit to Carondelet in 1838 taken from the two-volume work by Edmund Flagg entitled *The Far West, or a Tour Beyond the Mountains*, first published in 1838.

An article by O. C. Williams entitled "Hangman's Bridge" appears in the September, 1936, issue of the *Missouri Magazine*. The story deals with the tradition concerning the bridge across Squaw Creek in Northwest Missouri.

The Benton *Scott County Democrat* of September 24, 1936, issued a special edition in observance of the twelfth annual Neighbor Day to be held on October 1, 1936. Many valuable historical sketches of the various churches of Scott County, brief histories of three of the towns in the county, and the names of many citizens taken from a Scott county business directory of 1882 are included in the sixty-page publication. Numerous photographs illustrate the articles.

An article on the part played by Israel Dodge in the history of Ste. Genevieve appears in the St. Marys *Weekly Review* of September 3, 1936. The United States flag was first raised above the Ste. Genevieve post by Dodge.

An article on Judge North Todd Gentry entitled "Varied and Illustrious Career of One of Missouri's Lawyers and Statesmen" appears in the Jefferson City *Sunday News and Tribune* of November 1, 1936.

The LaBelle *Star* of September 4, 1936, contains an article entitled "Footprints in LaBelle History." The article was read by D. W. Wilson at a Sunday school class entertainment given in Tower Park at LaBelle.

The *Missouri Bar Journal* for November, 1936, published at Kansas City, contains a eulogy on the late Sanford Burritt Ladd by Judge Elmer N. Powell. Mr. Ladd was the twenty-fifth president of the Missouri Bar Association, having been elected in 1906.

An article by Allan M. Trout entitled "Revealing Eugene Field as House Guest, Clock Collector and 'Fussy Eater'" appears in the Kansas City *Star* of August 23, 1936. The article is devoted to hitherto unpublished letters written by Eugene Field to the late Miss Alice Yenowine of Middletown, Kentucky.

In the Kansas City *Star* of September 20, 1936, appears an article by A. B. MacDonald entitled "In 'Lovers' Lane, Saint Jo' Where Eugene Field Wooed and Won His Bride." Field married Julia Comstock of St. Joseph, Missouri, in 1873.

Interesting accounts of the Phelps family and of early Springfield have been obtained by E. C. McAfee from Mrs. Mary Phelps Montgomery, daughter of Governor John S. Phelps. The articles appear in "The Waste Basket" column of the Springfield *Daily News* of September 21, 1936, and in "The Old Timer" column of October 8, and October 10, 1936.

The first of a series of valuable sketches on the history of Washington county appears in the Potosi *Washington County News* of November 13, 1936. The sketches, entitled "The

County Historian," were compiled by Henry C. Thompson of Bonne Terre. This is the third series of "The County Historian," the other two being articles on St. Francois county, which appeared in the Bonne Terre *Bulletin*, and articles on Madison county, which appeared in the Fredericktown *Democrat-News*.

The "I Remember" column by T. V. Bodine, published in the Paris *Mercury*, are distinctive and valuable. The highly entertaining reminiscent articles contain valuable local historical information and interesting sketches of early residents of Paris and Monroe County.

The burning of the steamboat *Stonewall* near Neelys Landing sixty-seven years ago, when approximately 300 persons were drowned or were burned to death, was one of the worst tragedies of the Mississippi river. Reminiscences of the catastrophe were compiled by the Cape Girardeau County Historical Society from data supplied by R. W. Harris.—From the Cape Girardeau *Southeast Missourian*, October 27, 1936.

An interesting article by Charles van Ravenswaay entitled "Thespian Hall Social Life of 1869 Outlined" appears in the Boonville *Daily News* of October 7, 1936.

In the November 10, 1935, issue of the Kansas City *Journal-Post* there is an article on the Central High School faculty of forty years ago. Professor Clifford H. Nowlin kept a record of the thirty-seven teachers, and a brief sketch of each is given.

It is probable that a log cabin near Macon is the oldest building in Macon county. It was the home of the Reverend J. G. Swinney, who died in 1901. It is thought that the cabin was built in 1844 or 1845.—From the Macon *Chronicle-Herald*, October 29, 1936.

A log cabin on the farm of W. A. Garrett near Windsor, Missouri, is more than 100 years old. The cabin is one of the oldest buildings in Henry county.—From the St. Joseph *Messenger of Peace*, November, 1936.

A picture of the smallest school in St. Charles county, Mount Hope, near St. Paul, Missouri, appears in the Missouri Pictorial Supplement of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of November 22, 1936. Only two pupils now attend the school, which is over 100 years old.

The Bucklin *Herald*, which was founded on September 25, 1886, has finished publication of its 50th volume. A history of the paper appears in the *Herald* of October 23, 1936.

The Harrisonville *Cass County Democrat* of October 29, 1936, contains an article on the first divorce case in Cass county, which was filed in 1842. At the time the divorce was granted Cass county was known as Van Buren county, the name being changed in 1849. This issue of the *Cass County Democrat* also contains an article reprinted from the *Cass County Times-Courier* of October 24, 1879, on the gold and silver rush near Belton, Missouri.

An article on the history and traditions of the Ford family, written by Tirey Ford, appears in the Paris *Monroe County Appeal* of November 5, 12, and 19, 1936.

The Unionville *Republican and Putnam County Journal* of August 26, 1936, contains an article by Mrs. N. E. Wells on the towns of Putnam county, many of which have disappeared.

The Unionville *Republican and Putnam County Journal* of October 28, 1936, contains a valuable article by Mr. and Mrs. N. E. Wells on the selection of the county seat of Putnam county, which was moved many times before it was finally located at Unionville.

The Lexington *Advertiser-News* of October 17, 1936, contains a historical article entitled "Minatree Acres Is Located on Land Entered by Christopher Catron in 1819."

In the St. Louis *Star-Times* of October 2, 1936, appears an interesting article on Temple Israel in St. Louis.

An interesting history of Billings, Missouri, appears in the Billings *Times* of October 15, 1936.

An article by Miss Lottie Layne entitled "History of Syracuse Vividly Related by Ham Burford, Pioneer Resident" appears in the Boonville *Advertiser* of November 6, 1936.

A descriptive list of the historical buildings of Jasper county, compiled by Miss Delia Langston, historian of the Rhoda Fairchild Chapter of the D. A. R., appears in the Carthage *Evening Press* of October 14, 1936.

An article by Homer Bassford on the Holy Redeemer Catholic Church at Webster Groves appears in the St. Louis *Star-Times* of October 17, 1936.

A historical sketch of the Macedonia Freewill Baptist Church near Monett appears in the Monett *Times* of September 24, 1936, and the Cassville *Republican* of October 1, 1936. A picture of the church accompanies the article.

A history of the Presbyterian Church at Sarcoxie, which was read by A. L. Gurley on the sixty-fifth anniversary of the church, appears in the Sarcoxie *Record* of November 12, 1936.

A brief history of the Shiloh Methodist Episcopal Church near Freeman appears in the Harrisonville *Cass County Democrat* of September 3, 1936.

A history of the Bethel Mennonite Church near Garden City, by Lois Hartzler, appears in the Harrisonville *Cass County Democrat* of November 12, 1936.

The October 23, 1936, issue of the Jefferson City *Missouri Farm Bureau News* contains a brief history of the Catholic church at Benton written by Mrs. Joe Le Grand.

An historical article written by the late J. A. Merchant on "Methodism in Brunswick" appears in the Brunswick *Brunswicker* of October 2, 1936.

In the Monett *Times* of September 3, 1936, and the Cassville *Republican* of September 10, 1936, appears a history of the New Site Baptist Church near Monett, which was read by W. E. Meador at the homecoming held at the church on August 30. The church was organized in 1848 and is said to be the oldest Baptist church in Barry county.

The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* of September 20, 1936, contains an article on the historic Dent mansion in St. Louis, where Ulysses S. Grant and Julia Dent were married in 1848. The Dent-Grant Memorial Association hopes to convert the structure, which is badly dilapidated, into a suitable shrine.

An interesting article on Mrs. Theodosia Thornton Lawson, a member of a pioneer family of Clay county, appears in the Kansas City *Times* of October 2, 1936.

In the Kansas City *Star* of October 26, 1936, appears an interesting article entitled "Missouri's Act of Secession Passed by Legislature at Neosho 75 Years Ago."

An interesting article entitled "St. Louis as Capital of the Nation Object of a Convention Held in 1869" appears in the Kansas City *Times* of October 21, 1936.

The Columbia *Missourian* of November 12, 1936, contains an article on the bookplate exhibit at the library of the University of Missouri. The bookplates of the University Library and of the State Historical Society library are included in the collection.

An article on Cass county's second courthouse, containing hitherto unpublished data, appears in the Harrisonville *Cass County Democrat* of August 27, 1936. The courthouse, which was begun in 1843, was finished in 1847.

Carter county's new courthouse at Van Buren will be dedicated on August 21 and 22, 1936, during the Carter county annual jubilee.—From the Van Buren *Current Local*, August 13, 1936.

The St. Joseph *News-Press* of September 27, 1936, contains an article entitled "King of Prussia Once Sued Missouri Citizen." The suit was that of Frederick William IV against Felix Coste, administrator of the estate of William Kuepper, deceased.

The St. Louis *Star-Times* of November 13, 1936, contains an article entitled "Judge Brandeis' Life Closely Linked With Charles Nagel's by Family Ties." The first wife of Charles Nagel, a St. Louis lawyer, was a sister of Judge Brandeis.

In the Excelsior Springs *Daily Standard* of August 30, 1936, appears an article on the spelling of the name of Jesse James. It gives the correct spelling as "Jessee."

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875. Edited by Isidor Loeb and Floyd C. Shoemaker. Volume III. (Published by the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, 1936.) Of particular interest to libraries, lawyers and to students of Missouri legal and constitutional history is this recent volume of the *Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875*, the third in the projected twelve-volume series being published by the State Historical Society. The completion of this significant series, which was begun by the Society in 1930, will, together with the *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of 1875*, published by the Society in 1920, make available for the first time in published form the complete history of the framing of Missouri's present State

constitution. The value of the material thus made readily available, particularly in questions involving constitutional and judicial interpretation, is of course inestimable.

This third volume of the series, which is edited by Dr. Isidor Loeb of Washington University, St. Louis, and Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, maintains the standard of editing which was set by them as the editors of the first two volumes. It continues the record of the debates of the Constitutional Convention from May 26 to June 1, 1875, or, from the 19th to the 22nd day, there having been no sessions held on May 29, 30 and 31.

In the six days reported by Volume II of the *Debates*, the Convention devoted most of its time to a consideration, by the Committee of the Whole, of the proposed Bill of Rights. Volume III continues the consideration of the Bill of Rights by the Committee. In the four days of the proceedings reported by this volume the Committee took definite action on the remaining nine sections of the Bill of Rights and on some additional sections proposed by the Convention. In addition, it passed upon the Preamble and reported it with the Bill of Rights to the Convention for adoption.

In the plan of reproducing the original manuscripts of the debates in printed form, the editors have followed as exactly as possible the form they adopted for Volumes I and II. A foreword by Mr. Shoemaker and an introduction by Dr. Loeb preface the book.

Copies of the volume, which contains 464 pages, may be obtained from the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia.

Women of the Mansion; Missouri, 1821-1936. By Eleanora G. Park and Kate S. Morrow (Jefferson City, Missouri, Midland Printing Company, 1936. 435 pp.) Strangely, although the State of Missouri has had thirty-eight governors and thirty-nine administrations, covering a period of more than a century, not until the publication of the present volume has any attempt been made to record the poignantly human story that has remained concealed behind the exterior official dignity of Missouri's executive mansions. Now, after one

hundred and fifteen years, Mrs. Guy Brasfield Park, Missouri's present "First Lady," and Mrs. Kate S. Morrow, formerly an official hostess at the Mansion during the administration of Governor A. M. Dockery, tell for the first time the fascinating story of the inner side of Missouri's official executive life.

Written from the woman's viewpoint and therefore of especial interest to women, *Women of the Mansion* has to do with women and children who have lived in the Mansion; with festive inaugural balls and public receptions; with marriages, births and deaths; with the daily problems of housekeeping, the furnishings of the Mansion, and the entertaining of official guests—in short, with the problems, triumphs, humor, tragedy, and sorrows of a thousand-and-one homely incidents of social and domestic life as experienced by Missouri's "Governors' Ladies" from 1821 to 1936. Researches of the authors, supplemented by letters from living relatives of former "First Ladies," and from individuals who have been intimately acquainted with the executive families, tell the story down to 1903; and from that date, the recollections and reminiscences of nine of Missouri's ten surviving official hostesses bring the record to date.

The inclusion of a series of full-page reproductions of photographs of each official hostess who has presided over the Mansion since the beginning of Missouri's statehood, and whose story as official chatelaines of the Mansion the book is primarily designed to tell, is one of the crowning achievements of the authors. Ranging from the white-capped, and somewhat austere Mrs. Frederick Bates to the regal Mrs. James B. Montgomery, these photographs are an interesting study in personality and in changing styles and fashions over a period of more than a century. Merely to turn through the volume for these portraits and to attempt to discover in each some reflection of the tone of its respective administrations is one of the fascinations of the book.

Countless interesting and little-known items of Missouriana delight the reader of *Women of the Mansion*. Here is revealed the fact that Missouri has had five bachelor governors, two of whom had no official hostesses; that Missouri's

Norman J. Colman, the first U. S. secretary of agriculture, attributed his long life and good health to his woolen socks; that Marguerite Susanne Reilhe, Missouri's first "Governor's Lady" and wife of Governor Alexander McNair, was born in St. Louis and was of distinguished French ancestry. It is revealed, too, that Missouri's first native governor did not take office until 1865; that Governor B. Gratz Brown was first struck by the beauty of his future sixteen-year-old bride and obtained an introduction to her while she was swinging on the front gate; and that the large canopied bed in the southeast bedroom of the Mansion was in the suite in Barnum's Hotel once occupied by the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII; and that it was to faithful old "Dave", trusted negro coachman of the Mansion, that the dying, nine-year-old Carrie Crittenden commanded "Drive on, Dave, I see the angels." Through such items as these, one is made aware of the history, romance, humor and pathos which have centered in the Mansion.

The major portion of the subject matter of the book is divided into thirty-nine chapters arranged chronologically by administrations, one chapter being devoted to each official hostess. In addition, sub-divisions include sketches of the wives of Missouri governors who were not hostesses of the Mansion. The record of life in the Mansion during early administrations is necessarily incomplete; only as the subject matter draws nearer to recent times does the text become enlivened and animated by personal recollections and reminiscences. Four preliminary chapters, entitled "Executive Mansions," "History of the Furnishings of the Mansion," "Weddings in the Mansion," and "Births and Deaths in the Mansion," with a foreword by the authors, preface the book. Another important feature of the book is the valuable genealogical information included in each biographical sketch. An appendix, "Mansion Personalities," which includes the names of all persons mentioned in the text, concludes the volume.

Women of the Mansion, according to the preface, was compiled and published in the belief that the record which it presents would be of value to future "First Ladies" and of interest to the general public of the State. The achievement of the authors amply justifies that belief.

Copies of the volume may be obtained from the Midland Printing Company in Jefferson City.

A History of Moniteau County, Missouri. By J. E. Ford. (California, Mo., Press of the California Democrat, 1936.) This second Missouri county history to be published in 1936 is to be commended for removing another of Missouri's counties from the list of those lacking separately published volumes on their history. The author, Mr. J. E. Ford, is a native Missourian, a former newspaper man, member of the State Senate, and the author of a history of Grundy county which was published in 1908.

The present volume, which is 528 pages in length, is of convenient duodecimo size. Its 311 pages of historical material and 213 pages of biographical sketches cover the history of Moniteau county from earliest times down to the most recent development. Reproductions of photographs, most of them of comparatively recent date, occupy a large portion of the book.

In treatment, the *History of Moniteau County, Missouri*, is both chronological and topical, with the major emphasis placed upon the topical order of development. Four chapters, which cover thirty-four pages, including illustrations, bring the history of the county down to the Civil war. Thereafter, topical chapters entitled "A Period of Progress" (which treats of the immediate post Civil war period), "The World War," "Schools," "Churches," "Cities and Towns," "Political," and "Industrial," bring the history of the county down to recent date.

The text of the volume consists largely of quotations from newspapers, official records and formerly published historical sketches, and the style is, therefore, mainly factual. Chapter VI, entitled "True Stories" by F. L. Wood, originally published in the *Moniteau County Herald*, is an exception and includes numerous interesting stories and reminiscences of early Moniteau county history.

The approximately 150 short biographies which occupy the last 213 pages of the book include Moniteau county citizens of both the past and the present.

Township School Lands and Township School Funds in Missouri. By Leo F. Brown. (Thesis, Ph.D., University of Missouri, [Columbia, Mo.], 1935. 52 pp.) The object of this brief monograph is to consider a number of questions and problems related to the history of the disposition by Missouri counties of the township school lands which were granted by the federal government to the State for purposes of education, in accordance with section six, article one, of the Missouri Enabling Act of 1820. Four major chapters of the book indicate the aspects of the subject considered in the study: "Legal Acts Concerning the Sixteenth Section of School Lands in Missouri," "The Governors of Missouri and the Sixteenth Section School Grant," "Disposition of Township School Lands in Missouri," and "Summary, Conclusions, Recommendations and Proposals." Chapter Four, on the "Disposition of Township School Lands in Missouri," is of outstanding interest. In this chapter the author reveals, contrary to what seems to be a popular belief, that there has been no misappropriation, loss or theft in the disposition of Missouri's township school lands. Eight tables, which are illustrative of the matter of the text, and a selected bibliography complete the study.

William Benjamin Smith, Ph.D., L.L.D., A Friend of the University of Missouri Library. By Henry Ormal Severance. (*University of Missouri Bulletin*, Volume 37, No. 3, January, 1936. 23 pp.) This excellent, brief biographical sketch is both an appraisal and an appreciation of the life and career of Dr. William Benjamin Smith, a Missourian internationally recognized as a scholar, investigator, and intellectual genius. The author, who is librarian of the University of Missouri Library, to which Dr. Smith donated his splendid library of more than 2,000 volumes prior to his death in 1934, briefly but lucidly sketches the early life of Dr. Smith, his career as a professor and his widely varied contributions to knowledge. Dr. Smith, who was at one time professor of physics and mathematics at the University of Missouri, is to be ranked as one of the most learned men of recent times, according to the author. A complete bibliography of Dr. Smith's writings,

published and unpublished, and a list of works about him are appended to the sketch.

A twelve-page study entitled the "Missouri Indian," by J. Brewton Berry, appears in the September, 1936, issue of the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*. The author, who is assistant professor of sociology in the University of Missouri, assembles in an instructive and readable article the outstanding, salient facts concerning this once powerful but little known nation of Indians which inhabited the region that is now Missouri at the time of the coming of the first white men.

A brief historical sketch of the operation of the Wabash Railway in Missouri is contained in the thirty-page historical pamphlet entitled *Souvenir of Inspection of New Wabash Bridge Over Missouri River at St. Charles, Missouri, October 29, 1936*, by T. M. Haynes, Assistant Traffic Manager of the Wabash Railway Company. Published in commemoration of the recent completion of the new Wabash bridge at St. Charles, constructed at an approximate cost of two and one-half million dollars, this attractive brochure tells of the operation of the Wabash railroad in Missouri since the chartering of the old North Missouri railroad in 1851. The central theme of the pamphlet is the development of the Missouri river crossing at St. Charles. This development is traced from the first transportation of passengers and freight across the river by ferry, through the era of construction of the old bridge in 1871, until its culmination in the completion of the new bridge in 1936. Numerous reproductions of historical prints and advertisements, as well as modern photographs, maps and charts, make the pamphlet one that is particularly useful for public school use.

Over the Old Ozark Trails in the Shepherd of the Hills Country.
By Pearl Spurlock. (Branson, Mo., The White River Leader, 1936.) In this 113-page illustrated brochure, the author, who for sixteen years has operated a taxi for tourists through the historic Shepherd of the Hills country in Taney and Stone counties, Missouri, publishes the "lecture" which she has given

to the thousands of patrons whom she has piloted over that section of the Missouri Ozarks made famous by the pen of Harold Bell Wright. Written in a lively and intimate conversational style, with no affectation or pretense, the author briefly describes the Ozark scenes and historic prototypes of the setting and characters of Harold Bell Wright's novel, the *Shepherd of the Hills*.

"Voltaire and the Freethinkers in Early St. Louis," by John Francis McDermott, appears at pages 720-731 of the October-December number of the *Revue de Littérature Comparée* (Paris, 1936). In this second of his valuable and illuminating ventures in the study of intellectual and cultural origins of St. Louis, Mr. McDermott, who is a member of the Department of English of Washington University, St. Louis, further demolishes the current misconception that eighteenth century French St. Louis was a primitive and isolated frontier community with no rudiments of culture. Basing his study upon the testimony of contemporary writers, upon an analysis of a number of inventories of private libraries of influential St. Louis creoles, and upon examples of books read in contemporary New Orleans and Canada, with which St. Louis had contact and from which she drew her population, the author ably demonstrates that the little village of St. Louis possessed an exceptional array of books by Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu and other French freethinkers. This tendency toward a liberal philosophy in St. Louis, as indicated by the books owned by its leading citizens, is shown by the author to ante-date the French Revolution and, possibly, to have had its origin in the very beginning of St. Louis.

Of interest to genealogists is the recently published *Marriage Records of Callaway County, Missouri, 1821-1871*, compiled and published by Mrs. Arthur D. Ferguson. Price \$3.00. The publication is the second of four projected volumes dealing with Callaway county family records.

A fitting souvenir of the triennial meeting of the General Grand Chapter of the Royal Arch Masons which recently

took place at St. Louis on October 5-8, is a small, sixty-four page, paper-bound volume entitled, *Program Triennial Meetings General Grand Chapter Royal Arch Masons, General Grand Council Royal and Select Masters, U. S. A. St. Louis, Missouri, October 5, 6, 7, 8, 1936*. The booklet contains brief historical sketches of Masonry in the United States and in Missouri, photographs of officers, the official day-by-day program of the convention, and a fifty-six-page section devoted to illustrative and descriptive matter on St. Louis.

In *The Camp Meeting Murders* (New York, The Vanguard Press, 1936. 301 pp.), Vance Randolph, well-known authority on the Ozarks and Ozark folklore, turns his talents to a new field. Written in collaboration with Nancy Gish Clemens, this detective novel with an Ozark setting abounds in Ozark local color, folk-customs and psychology.

A letter of James Clemens, Jr., early St. Louis merchant, and a diary of William M. Campbell, distinguished pioneer lawyer of St. Charles, written during a trip made by him from Dardenne Prairie to Jefferson City, Boonville, Chariton and other early towns, appears in *Glimpses of the Past*, July-September, 1936, published by the Missouri Historical Society. These notes on Missouri, though fragmentary, contain interesting descriptions of various towns and portions of the State in 1816 and 1830.

An article by Donald Culross Peattie on Charles Valentine Riley, who was the state entomologist of Missouri for nine years, appears in *Esquire* for November, 1936.

An historical sketch and the program of activities in connection with the thirtieth anniversary celebration of Grace Presbyterian Church, Kansas City, Missouri, is contained in the commemorative pamphlet, *Grace Memories, 1906-1936*.

PERSONALS

HENRY CASTLEMAN BELL: Born at Potosi, Mo., Nov. 5, 1866; died at Potosi, Oct. 22, 1936. He attended the Potosi public schools and the Manual Training School of Washington University. He began his newspaper career in 1877 as an apprentice on the Potosi *Weekly Independent*, of which paper he became managing editor in 1886 and owner in 1888. On January 29, 1929, he bought the Potosi *Journal* and consolidated the two papers as the *Independent-Journal*. In 1930 he sold a one-half interest in the *Independent-Journal* to his son, Wilson Bell. He served for a number of years on the Democratic State Committee. He was one of the original trustees of the State Historical Society in 1901 and served until 1920. He was a devoted Presbyterian, and was an elder in the Potosi Presbyterian Church.

MARCY K. BROWN, Sr.: Born at Clarinda, Iowa, Dec. 31, 1857; died at Kansas City, Mo. Oct. 6, 1936. He was educated at the University of Iowa and later attended the University of Michigan, where he received his law degree. He was elected to the 34th General Assembly as representative from the second legislative district of Jackson county.

LUCIUS H. CANNON: Born at Pepin, Wis.; died at St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 17, 1936, at the age of seventy-six. He attended the Wisconsin Library School at Madison. In 1915 he was legislative indexer of Wisconsin. After serving as head of the Racine, Wisconsin, Public Library reference department he was, in 1917, appointed librarian of the Municipal Reference Library at St. Louis, which position he held at the time of his death. He had compiled a number of pamphlets on municipal problems and was well known for his researches in the field of statistical information relating to St. Louis.

CASPER M. EDWARDS: Born at Farmington, Mo., May 19, 1870; died at Poplar Bluff, Mo., Aug. 21, 1936. He was educated in the schools of southeast Missouri. During Governor Major's administration he was assistant attorney general of Missouri. He served in the General Assembly as

representative from Dunklin county from 1919 to 1925. He had published several Missouri newspapers, including the *Caruthersville Democrat*, the *Dunklin County News*, and the *Dunklin County Mail*.

FRANK B. FULKERSON: Born in Missouri, March 5, 1866; died near Higginsville, Mo., Aug. 30, 1936. He was educated at Westminster College at Fulton, Missouri, and at the University of Missouri and the University of Michigan. In 1904 he was elected to Congress as representative from the old fourth district.

CHARLES C. HAYWARD: Born at Shelbyville, Mo., Feb. 19, 1880; died at Shelbina, Mo., Aug. 31, 1936. He received his education in the schools of Shelbyville. From 1926 to 1930 he was a member of the Democratic State Committee. He was elected to the 57th General Assembly as representative from Shelby county.

WILEY P. HUSTON: Born in Lincoln county, Mo., Sept. 20, 1863; died at St. Charles, Mo., Sept. 30, 1936. He was sheriff of Lincoln county from 1900 to 1904. From 1911 to 1915 he served in the General Assembly as representative from Lincoln county. He moved to St. Charles in 1922 and served on the city council from 1924 to 1928. At the time of his death he was a member of the Democratic State Committee.

ARTHUR T. NELSON: Born at Buffalo, N. Y., Dec. 14, 1864; died at Lebanon, Mo., Oct. 5, 1936. In 1906 he was president of the Missouri State Board of Agriculture and of the State Fair Board. He served as president of the Missouri State Horticultural Society from 1910 to 1913. From 1921 to 1925 he was chairman of the State Penal Board. At the time of his death he was vice-chairman of the Missouri Highway Commission.

JOHN E. ROTHENSTEINER: Born at St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 21, 1860; died at St. Louis, Sept. 26, 1936. He was educated and ordained at St. Francis de Sales Seminary in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He was pastor at Jackson, Missouri, for two

years, and then served temporarily as an assistant in several parishes in and around St. Louis. In 1877 he was made pastor at Fredericktown, and served there until 1907, when he went to St. Louis to organize the Holy Ghost Parish. In 1934 he was elevated to the rank of monsignor. He was well known as a historian and poet. He wrote *The History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* and *The Chronicles of an Old Missouri Parish*. He translated a large number of German poems and wrote a number of original verses. He also published a parish magazine at the Holy Ghost Church. He had been a trustee of the State Historical Society of Missouri since March 8, 1904.

CHRISTIAN L. RUTT: Born at Milwaukee, Wis., Oct. 8, 1859; died at St. Joseph, Mo., Sept. 22, 1936. He attended St. Benedict's Parochial School and St. Benedict's College at Atchison, Kansas. After learning the printer's trade he worked as a journeyman printer in Texas, Iowa, and Nebraska. In 1883 he became associated with the St. Joseph *Gazette*. Upon the consolidation of the *Gazette* and the *Herald* he was made manager of the *Gazette-Herald*. He was appointed managing editor of the *Daily News* in October, 1902, and served in that capacity after the consolidation of the *News* and the *Press* the remainder of his life. Rutt was the author of two histories of Buchanan county.

STOKES, CARRIE LEE (CARTER): Born near Dexter, Mo., March 12, 1866; died in Los Angeles, Cal., May 13, 1936. She received her early education in local schools and was graduated from the McMinnville (Tenn.) Female College in 1884. A pioneer in W.C.T.U. work in Stoddard county, she became president of the Union in the 14th congressional district, and was for twenty-three years organizer for the national W.C.T.U. In February, 1908, Mrs. Stokes became president of the Missouri W.C.T.U. on the death of Mrs. Clara C. Hoffman. She was elected president and served the one-year term following. With her husband, Charles E. Stokes, whom she married in 1904, she was active in the prohibition movement in Missouri.

JOHN E. SWANGER: Born near Milan, Mo., June 22, 1864; died at Rochester, Minn., Oct. 19, 1936. He received his education in the Kirksville Normal School (now the Northeast Missouri State Teachers College), and the University of Michigan, where he was graduated from the law school in 1894. He was elected representative from Sullivan county in the General Assembly in 1892, serving two terms. In 1904 he was elected secretary of state. He purchased the *Milan Republican* in 1898, which he published until 1906. In 1923 he was appointed superintendent of the Modern Woodman of America Sanatorium near Colorado Springs, Colorado.

MARY BLAKE WOODSON: Born at Kansas City, Mo., May 7, 1886; died at Kansas City, Nov. 5, 1936. She attended St. Teresa's academy at Kansas City. She was editor of "Missouri Notes" in the *Kansas City Star* in 1918 and 1919, and became editor of The Chaperon department of the *Star* in 1923, which position she held at the time of her death. For many years Mrs. Woodson had been a contributor of verse, fiction and special articles to magazines and newspapers. In 1914 and 1915 she was state historian of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and in 1925 she was state president of the Missouri Writers' Guild.

CLEM YORE: Born at St. Louis, Mo., May 6, 1875; died at Estes Park, Colo., Oct. 24, 1936. He received his education in the law school of Washington University. He was admitted to the Missouri bar in 1896, but gave up the practice of law a year later for newspaper work. He was the author of numerous novels, short stories, and poems.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

QUIETLY AND WITHOUT FANFARE THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY GOES
ABOUT ITS WORK

Written by Samuel J. Smith in the Kansas City *Star*, November 14, 1936.

Quietly and unostentatiously, the Missouri State Historical Society, with offices at Columbia, has gone about its task of collecting, preserving and making available the true history of Missouri for the present and future generations, unhindered by changes in the political faith of administrations and untainted by campaign bombast. During the thirty-five years that it has been a branch of the state government, receiving surprisingly small biennial appropriations, the society has made remarkable progress in building the largest and most valuable collection of Missouriana.

Not until a visitor to the society's quarters in the University of Missouri library building has been shown the immense amount of Missouri source material now available for research purposes does the magnitude of the task which faced this organization at its inception become apparent. . . .

Because of the importance of early-day newspapers as a prolific field of source material, these newspaper files represent one of the society's most valuable departments, including at the present time more than 19,000 bound volumes. . . . In separate steel cabinets—the building itself is fireproof, as are the shelves of the stacks—are kept photostatic copies of the *Missouri Gazette* from the first printing in 1808 to [1828]

Treated in the same reverent manner are complete original files beginning in 1819 of the *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*, the first country newspaper in the State. . . . The society at the present time is receiving 370 current newspapers, representing every county in the state. . . . It is also the society's aim to have either original or photostatic copies of all Missouri newspaper files down to 1860 by the end of another decade. . . .

In a room nearby a member of the society's office staff of nine members works busily with piles of old manuscripts. The names of such early outstanding Missourians as Judge Abiel Leonard, Maj. James S. Rollins . . . on the drawers of a steel filing cabinet nearby hint at the wide range of material tucked away in the society's manuscript collection of 25,000 pieces.

The library also includes 211,290 books and pamphlets and 125,000 Missouri official state archives. . . . Then there is the Mark Twain collection. . . . The society also attempts to place on its shelves at least one book by every Missouri writer. . . .

All phases of Missouri history are covered by the branches of the society's library. There are, for instance, books on history, biography, literature, publications of patriotic, fraternal and professional societies, schools, railroads and churches. There are college annuals and municipal reports from St. Louis, Kansas City, and St. Joseph, . . . Such a list can run on endlessly, but there is evident one predominant tendency. Practically all of the material in some way fits in as part of the Missouri mosaic.

Compared with historical societies west of the Mississippi River, the Missouri organization ranks first in active membership. . . . Compared even with all historical societies in the Mississippi Valley, it ranks first in active membership. . . .

Much of the credit for the society's progress must be handed Floyd C. Shoemaker, connected with the society since 1910, and its secretary and librarian for the last twenty-one years, a none too robust man, but one whose mannerisms indicate the tremendous energy he has brought to his task. . . .

In the field of publications, the society has tried to present accurate contributions to the history of the state and to make available public records which otherwise would be inaccessible. Since 1906 the society has published its quarterly magazine, the *Missouri Historical Review*. It has the largest circulation for this kind of publication in America. The society has already published a 12-volume work of the *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri*, has prepared three of a 12-volume series covering the *Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875*, and two volumes containing the *Journal of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875*.

Mr. Shoemaker moved around his desk and stood facing two picture frames. . . . The upper one contained seven pictures, the lower five.

"It has been the good fortune of the society to obtain the services of some of Missouri's most outstanding men," he observed. "The upper frame contains the pictures of presidents of the state historical society. There is E. W. Stephens of Columbia, H. E. Robinson of Maryville, W. O. L. Jewett of Shelbina, William Southern, jr., of Independence, R. M. White of Mexico, Walter B. Stevens of St. Louis, now living in Burdick, Kan., and George A. Mahan of Hannibal. . . .

"Now look at this lower frame. These men have served on the finance committee. You'll notice that there are but five men pictured there. R. M. White and Walter Williams served from 1901 until 1932 and 1934, respectively, and Dr. Isidor Loeb, . . . also appointed in 1901, still is serving. E. E. Swain of Kirksville and Judge Roy D. Williams of Booneville are the new members.

"The board of trustees forming the society's executive committee of twenty-six members has always been composed of men of similar character and standing."

Mr. Shoemaker went on to explain why he thinks the society has made such steady progress. "We have confined ourselves to Missouri in

spite of the temptation at times to expand the scope of our activities. . . . Such has been our policy from the very beginning of the society." . . .

The state historical society gets little of the taxpayer's money. . . . Its last biennial appropriation was \$36,520; far less than half the average apportionments granted similar organizations in Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Iowa.

All of which make the results which have been achieved seem the more remarkable.

LOUISIANA AND MISSOURI RIVER RAILROAD

Reprinted from the Columbia *Patriot*, by the St. Louis *Missouri Argus*, October 28, 1836.

All who feel a proper degree of interest in the prosperity of the country, will be gratified to learn that the survey of the route through which the contemplated rail road will pass has actually been commenced. On the application of several gentlemen in the vicinity of Louisiana to the war department, an engineer (Mr. Guaon) a gentleman of ability and experience, has been furnished to survey and to report upon the practicability of the undertaking, antecedent to the commencement of the survey, it was necessary to make a general recognition of the country. This was done last week by Mr. Guaon, accompanied by A. B. Chambers, Esq., editor of the *Salt River Journal* (Bowling Green) (to whose energy and public spirit the community are much indebted not only for the conception of the measure, but for its present advanced state) and Mr. Herick who is likewise identifying his name with its advancement.

From the proceedings published in this day's paper, it will be seen that the citizens of this place and neighbourhood have taken steps to render every aid to the engineer in conducting the survey when he shall have reached the limits of the county. We publish also the proceedings of another meeting held at Rocheport upon the same subject to which we would call the attention of our readers. The liberal and enlarged views indicated by the resolutions, evinces a spirit that we much admire in the citizens of that place. The general interests of the country are to be consulted, and the success of this magnificent project is not to be weakened by local jealousies, or a petty warfare between rival villages. In this undertaking we believe that our interests are one and the same, at an early day we will endeavor to submit our views upon this part of the subject more at large. In the meantime let Fulton and Fayette also have some action upon this subject that we may know how they feel towards this important work.

A ROYAL VISIT TO ST. LOUIS

Reprinted from *Edward VII, Man and King*, by H. E. Wortham (Little, Brown & Co.), by the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, September 12, 1932.

The Prince of Wales (later Edward VII) never grasped happiness more firmly than during those weeks in Canada and the United States (in 1860). If the Queen and the Prince Consort thought that the incognito of Baron Renfrew would distract honest republican interest from this fine specimen of royalty, they were much mistaken, and the Prince moved from city to city amidst a crescendo of appreciation, which in New York reached a staggering fortissimo.

At St. Louis there was a quieter reception, only the poorest of the population greeting the Prince on his arrival and poking their heads into his carriage as he started to drive to Barnum's Hotel. Next morning, however, the mayor arrived and escorted the Prince in the mayoral carriage drawn by four prancing black horses to the Great Fair, which this metropolis of the middle west, then half as big again as lusty young Chicago, was holding to mark its achievement of civilizing "a wilderness 300 miles in breadth." The task had taken a century and left little time for the sturdy colonists to polish themselves in the graces of life.

But the Prince gave no indication that he thought the mayor, as did some of the mayor's traveled fellow townsmen, was taking a liberty in holding his arm as they drove through the streets to the great wooden amphitheater in the grounds of the exhibition, where the people were assembled in tens of thousands; neither did he seem to notice that a smart Yankee drove in the wake of the party advertising his clothing store.

They alighted, and still the friendly mayor kept hold of the royal arm. Proud fathers introduced the Prince to their daughters and never dreamed they were sinning against the canons of royal etiquette. These innocents looked with favor on the spruce figure in his blue coat, light flowing pantaloons and yellow waistcoat. They noticed how he stroked the tender mustaches which had never felt the rasping touch of any razor—their hearts went out to the handsome young man.

The Prince also did homage to beauty as he visited the booths under the tiers of seats where the pride of each congregation sold fried oysters, sandwiches, white candy and ice cream. One peerless Sylvia, a fair and holy vendor of this favorite American comestible, he made to blush "as pink as her Paris gown," when he slid a coin into her hand for the ice cream she could not tempt him to consume. She observed how, as her royal customer unbent, he stuck his finger, encased by fashionable kids, into his waistcoat pockets.

It was the briefest of idylls. The joking beauty's attention was momentarily withdrawn, Lord Renfrew lightly said that he had already stayed too long and was depriving her stall of other custom, and he and the suite moved on. Yet this gracious young lady of fiction can claim to be the first of not a few of her compatriots who exerted their fascination upon the Prince.

Even the Duke of Newcastle must have approved the Prince's tactful intuition, though he was less complaisant toward the luncheon in the director's shanty, a buffet stocked with great joints of beef and mutton and buffalo tongues. These, flanked by huge jugs of beer, submitted to the assaults of "ravenous animals," who attacked them with pocket knives. The Prince, we may take it, enjoyed the melee and managed to satisfy an already voracious appetite.

Vigor, self-reliance, independence, were the qualities which St. Louis valued and displayed to the Prince everywhere, except in the slave market—no sight for sore eyes.

GLASGOW'S SODA FOUNTAIN, 1849

Excerpts from the Glasgow *Weekly Times* reprinted in the Glasgow *Missourian* of August 13, 1936.

June 21, 1849—Messrs. Digges and Horsley have their soda fountain in full blast. There is nothing more delicious these warm days than a glass of soda; those who doubt are requested to call as above and if they know anything better, we hope they will reciprocate by letting us know where it can be had.

WALT WHITMAN'S VISIT TO CRYSTAL CITY, 1879

From the *Crystal City Press*, January 21, 1936.

EDITOR'S NOTE:—For one of the most valuable bits of historical information about Crystal City, *The Press* and this entire community are indebted this week to Miss Martha Clapp, teacher of English in Crystal City high school. While studying the life and works of Walt Whitman, famous American poet and lecturer, last summer at the University of Illinois, Miss Clapp came across the following reference to the Crystal City glass factory in a collection of Whitman's "Some Diary Notes at Random." It is considered as one of the most valuable bits of literature yet discovered about the early history of this community.

Plate Glass Notes—St. Louis, Missouri, November, 1879. What do you think I find manufactured out here and of a kind the clearest and largest, best, and the most finished and luxurious in the world—and with ample demand for it too? Plate glass! One would suppose that was the last dainty outcome of an old, almost effete-growing civilization; and yet here it is, a few miles from St. Louis, on a charming little river, in the wilds of the West, near the Mississippi.

I went down that way today by the Iron Mountain Railroad—was switched off on a side track four miles through woods and ravines, to Swash Creek so-called, and there found Crystal City and an immense Glass Works (built to stay) right in the pleasant rolling forest.

Spent most of the day, and examined the inexhaustible and peculiar sand the glass is made of—the original white gray stuff in the banks—saw the melting in the pots—a wondrous process, a real poem—saw the

delicate preparation the clay material undergoes for these great pots—it has to be kneaded finally by human feet, no machinery answering, and I watched the picturesque bare legged Africans treading it—saw the molten stuff—a great mass of a glowing pale yellow color—taken out of the furnaces—I shall never forget that pot, shape, color, concomitants, more beautiful than any antique statue, passed into the adjoining casting room and lifted by powerful machinery, poured out on its bed—all glowing, a newer vaster study for Colorists, indescribable, a pale red-tinged yellow, of tarry consistence, all lambent—rolled by a heavy roller into rough plate glass, I should say ten feet by fourteen, then rapidly shov'd into the annealing oven, which stood ready for it.

The polishing and grinding rooms afterward—the great glass slabs, hundreds of them, on their flat beds, and the see-saw music of the steam machinery constantly at work polishing them—the myriads of human figures—the works employ'd 400 men—moving about with swart arms and necks, and no superfluous clothing—the vast, rude halls, with immense play of shifting shade, and slow-moving currents of smoke and steam, and shafts of light, sometimes sun striking it from above with effect that would have filled Michel Angelo with rapture.

SALE OF SLAVES AT COLUMBIA IN 1864

From the Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, January 29, 1864.

On Monday last there was at this place a Sheriff's sale of 22 slaves belonging to Mr. John W. Rollins, for cash, as follows:

| | |
|--|----------|
| To J. T. McBain, Alex, aged 43 years..... | \$132.00 |
| To J. A. McQuitty, Green, aged 30 years..... | 80.00 |
| " Dr. J. W. Roberts, Charles, 30 years..... | 150.00 |
| " G. C. Swallow, Levi, aged 25 years..... | 208.00 |
| " J. W. Lamme, Essex, aged 30 years..... | 135.00 |
| " J. W. Lamme, Joe, aged 21 years..... | 140.00 |
| " F. Herndon, William, aged 13 years..... | 161.00 |
| " D. Guitar, Jerome, aged 8 years..... | 70.00 |
| " J. W. Lamme, Eddy, aged 6 years..... | 51.00 |
| " A. L. Vandiver, Winny, aged 55 years..... | 101.00 |
| " M. S. Matthews, Mary, aged 40 years, and her child, Odon, aged 18 months..... | 106.00 |
| " Robt. Schwaby, Hannah, 35 years..... | 25.00 |
| " D. McQuitty, Margaret, 30 years..... | 50.00 |
| " J. W. Lamme, Lucy, 30 years..... | 145.00 |
| " J. W. Lamme, Harriet, 16 years, and two children..... | 170.00 |
| " J. W. Lamme, Fanny, 12 years..... | 85.00 |
| " J. A. McClancy, Julia, 10 years..... | 135.00 |
| " Mrs. W. F. Switzler, Laura, 9 years..... | 93.00 |
| " M. S. Matthews, Morgan, 4 years..... | 43.50 |
| Twenty-two negroes..... | 2,080.50 |

On Saturday at a Constable's sale a very likely negro man, Dick, aged 21 years, was bought by Wm. F. Switzler for \$126.00, the slave sold as the property of Columbus B. Hickam.

"THE CALVARY"—A SACRED PLACE IN ST. LOUIS

Written by Harry T. Brundidge in the *St. Louis Star*, May 9, 1932.

It was Corpus Christi Day, 1795. All the inhabitants of St. Louis, some 200 families, their Indian and Negro slaves, free Indians, itinerant trappers, traders and other visitors, had gathered at the dilapidated log chapel (where the Old Cathedral now stands on Walnut street, between Second and Third streets) for a procession. . . . The procession marched up the stone steps of "The Calvary," a huge wooden cross set in stone, and kneeling at the temporary altar, received the benediction from Father Peter Joseph Didier, "the pioneer Benedictine."

"The Calvary" was new. The cross was hand-hewn of native cedar and had been erected as a token of thanksgiving by newly arrived French emigrés who had escaped the terrors of the French Revolution. It was on an eminence overlooking the river and where most of the town barns were located on a common.

From "The Calvary" the procession moved south, between the stockade and the fence of the common to the old Spanish fort or tower, at what is now Fourth and Walnut, and pausing there, where another altar was located, received another benediction, and then moved on to the third altar, within the log cabin chapel. There the crowd dispersed and social festivities followed. . . .

The site of "The Calvary," for a quarter of a century the most sacred spot in St. Louis, is somewhere on the south side of Olive street, between Third and Fourth streets, probably under the east end of the Rialto Building.

Several years ago Miss Stella M. Drumm of the Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis) ever in search of new material concerning old Missouri, found in records of the Missouri Supreme Court the story of the case of "The St. Louis Public Schools vs. Greene Erskine." It had to do with the title to the site of "The Calvary" about which the Missouri Historical Society, up to that time, knew nothing.

No St. Louis history contains any record of the place.

The Rev. Father J. Rothensteiner, pastor of Holy Ghost Church, and a recognized authority on the early history of the St. Louis diocese, consulted by Miss Drumm, was intensely interested. He studied the court record and wrote an interesting interpretative brief on "The Calvary" for the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis. . . .

Testimony adduced at the hearing in 1859, fixed the site of "The Calvary" near the top of the hill leading up from the river, at the point already described. It was intended to represent the scene of the Crucifixion. The cross, 12 to 20 feet high, was upon a natural elevation with

stone steps leading up to it. There were no houses in the immediate vicinity, even as late as 1812—only barns.

As to the location, Jacques Labie, 74 years old, called to the stand, testified as follows:

"I know where 'The Calvary' was. It was near the lot of Picard, west of it. Five or six months after the cross was put up they (the people) made a procession and after that the governor (Spanish) ordered Picard to remove his fence. He (the governor) said it was too close to the cross. The cross was near Picard's lot. There was nothing there where the cross was, it was vacant in those times. Before 1812 there was nobody there; it was all vacant land; no streets there, all barn lots."

Labie was a prominent citizen of St. Louis at that time and his father signed the order, among others, for building the second Catholic Church here in 1775, under Gov. Piernas and Father Valentine. . . .

Father Rothensteiner, in fixing the date the cross was erected and the name of the priest responsible, points to the testimony of Jacques Labie and Madame Elizabeth Hortiz, who died in 1868 at the age of 104 years. Her husband, a carpenter from the Pyrenees, came to St. Louis with Laclede in 1764, the year Madame Hortiz was born. Labie testified, in 1859, that he was 74 years old and that he saw the cross erected when a small boy. Madame Hortiz testified "The Calvary" was built immediately after the French Revolution. From this testimony Father Rothensteiner fixes the date as 1795 and therefore credits Father Didier, then in charge of the church, with the responsibility.

[Editor's note: Here follows brief testimony tending to show that the cross was removed sometime between 1803 and 1824.]

ST. LOUIS STEAMBOATS AND FOUNDRIES, 1837

From the *St. Louis Missouri Argus*, March 31, 1837.

The steam boat "North St. Louis," was launched into her destined element on Wednesday last from the yard of Messrs. Thomas & Glenn. Hundreds of persons were present to witness a scene which we hope may soon become familiar to our citizens by frequent repetition. And why should we not frequently see steam vessels of every kind and burthen smoothly gliding into the great channel of our wealth from the ship yards of our own citizens? The timber of the neighboring forests, the iron of our own mines, are not surpassed in abundance or quality in the cities from which we obtain our boats. We go farther; they are not equalled. Our workmen are emigrants from nearly every manufacturing city, and it cannot or rationally be supposed that they lost their skill during their passage hither. Our Foundries are large and acknowledged to be most excellent, and our engine shops are filled with workmen who have stood at the head of their profession in the cities from which they came. That we have sufficient force to execute almost any amount of work is demonstrably evident. Of the force of the new foundry and engine shops we gave an

extended account a few months back. The Mississippi Foundry, erected under such discouraging circumstances in 1831, now employs, on an average, 97 workmen, many of them of the very first order of mechanics, whether we regard practical skill, or theory and science. Specimens of their skill and genius may be seen in many of the larger towns in Illinois and Missouri, there having been made at that establishment alone, during the year 1836, twenty-two mill and ferry boat engines. . . . The amount of the sales at this single establishment in 1836, exceeded \$140,000 and will, probably, be greater in 1837. . . .

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